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## *SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF WESTERN ALABAMA.*

Special Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 30.

It may be interesting, if not instructive, to glance over the record of some of the prominent men of this State who have been recommended by Gov. Parsons for pardon. Most of them have already received it, and are now looking out for lucrative positions, either in the State or under the General Government.

Ex-Gov. A. J. Moore recommended, and I guess, pardoned by this time, was Governor of Alabama at the time the State seceded. He ordered the seizing of forts Morgan and Gaines, the arsenal at Mt. Vernon, with all their arms and equipments—also recommended the taking of forts Pickens, McCrae, and Barrancas in Florida, and all upon his own responsibility, *before the act of secession had passed*. In his message to the Senate, Jan. 14, 1861, he said, "I could not wait till *that* Government (the United States) had thrown troops into the forts," etc.

John Gill Shorter, successor to Gov. Moore, recommended for pardon, was Commissioner to Georgia and Deputy to the rebel Congress. He was an active secessionist, a persecutor of Union men, arresting and throwing them into prisons. He was the Governor whose proclamation made him proverbial.

Thos. Hill Watts, successor to Shorter in 1863, recommended for pardon, was a prominent lawyer, as were also his two predecessors. He was a Colonel in the rebel army, and afterward Attorney-General of the Confederacy. The following extract from his inaugural message will define his position: "Let us renew our faith to the Southern cause, and let us swear before high heaven, whatever else may be our fate, we will never have political connection with such a God-cursed race. Death will be a heavenly boon compared with the miseries of Yankee rule." He was a member of the secession convention, and, in company with Wm. L. Yancey, walked up first to put his name to the secession ordinance. He was the chairman of the committee which reported the confiscation and sequestration act, and, as late as March, 1865, was President of the society known as "The loyal Confederates of Montgomery."

Leroy Pope Walker, recommended for pardon, was a prominent lawyer. He was commissioner to Tennessee, and afterwards Major-General in the rebel army. He ordered the firing of the first gun on Fort Sumter, and on the same evening declared he would plant the rebel flag on Faneuil Hall in Boston.

Benj. Fitzpatrick, pardoned, and a prominent candidate for the U. S. Senate, was a lawyer. He abandoned his seat in the Senate, together with C. C. Clay (who is now charged with conspiracy) and indorsed the sentiments expressed in that memorable farewell speech of Clay's, in which he declared himself to be absolved from all obligations to support the Constitution of the United States. Fitzpatrick was also one of that caucus in which Southern Senators agreed to, and did advise their States to secede.

J. L. Pugh, recommended for pardon, and a candidate for Congress, is a lawyer of considerable note. He also abandoned his seat in Congress, and advised the Convention in Alabama to pass the ordinance of secession. He declared he would raise a regiment, go to Washington and set the Capital in flames, was one of the vilest secessionists and most vigilant persecutor of Union men.

Jabez L. M. Curry, recommended for pardon, is a lawyer, and was one of the Congressmen who abandoned their seats in 1860. With Pugh he wrote a letter to the Alabama Convention urging them to pass the ordinance of secession—was Commissioner to Maryland and Deputy to the rebel Congress; an original proselyte of Calhoun and a violent persecutor of loyal men.

Wm. Chilton, pardoned, is a lawyer. He was a Deputy to the rebel Congress and an active agent to procure subscriptions to the Confederate cotton loan, lent all his influence and energies to the cause of secession, and was a working member of the "Montgomery Confederation."

Frank S. Lyon, pardoned, a lawyer and wealthy planter was an avowed secessionist. He was a member of the rebel Congress, Chairman of the Finance Committee, and author of the scheme for effecting a Confederate loan of fifteen millions, upon bonds, to aid the rebellion, as well as the bill for taxation and the funding act of the currency. He was, of course, one of the most violent secessionists.

Edward S. Dargan, recommended for pardon, is a prominent lawyer and secessionist. He was formerly a member of the United States Congress, and judge of the Supreme Court of Alabama; was a member of the secession convention and rebel Congress. He was author of the proposition to raise a million dollars for the war.

Thaddeus Sanford, recommended for pardon, was Collector of the Port of Mobile under Buchanan, and editor of the *Advertiser*. He refused to honor a draft of $26,000, drawn on him for the port, and resigned, holding on to funds belonging to the United States. He afterward accepted the Collectorship from the rebel government after the sequestration of the public moneys.

J. W. Echols, pardoned, was a contractor for the State; went to Illinois, when secession took place, to purcase corn, meal, etc. Was a Colonel in the rebel army, a conscript officer and persecutor of Union men; drank the Confederate hospital whisky at Selma, for which act he was superseded.

Gen. Cornelius Robinson, recommended for pardon, was a deputy to the rebel Congress; made violent speeches in favor of secession, declaring that if Alabama did not secede his county would, and if that did not, he would with his plantation. He favored vigilance committees and lynch laws; declared his desire for the election, *because, as he believed, that would bring around disunion.*

Eli S. Shorter, pardoned, was one of the most extreme rebels in the South, and noted for his persecution of loyal men. He is an ex-member both of the United States and Confederate Congress—was also a Colonel in the rebel arm.

James M. Calhoun, nephew of the Nullifier, is recommended for pardon. He is a wealthy planter, lawyer, and politician; has been plotting secession for nearly thirty years; was a senator in the rebel State Legislature, and a bitter persecutor of Union men.

John F. Morgan recommended for pardon, was a cunning lawyer and violent secessionist—was a member of the secession convention, fully justified Gov. Moore in seizing U. S. property, was a General in the rebel army, conscript agent of the State, etc.

W. W. Hilliard, recommended for pardon, was a strong advocate of secession, a famous ecclesiastical orator on the "rights of the South," commander of the famous Hilliard Legion, *a la* Cæsar, and is now spending the days of his penitence in Washington, under the eye of his hoped-for restorer.

T. B. Bethea, pardoned, was an extreme secessionist (Yancey School) a member of the Montgomery Confederate League, etc.

W. H. Fowler, pardoned, was Secretary of the Alabama Secession Convention, and afterward assumed command of a company called "Warrior Guards," with which to take possession of Fort Morgan *before the State had seceded.* He is now in Washington acting as Pardon Agent. On the 4th of this month he telegraphed from there to a certain gentleman in this city: "I paid nothing," *He was made a special agent by Gov. Parsons to administer the amnesty oath.*

Washington M. Smith, pardoned, was President of the Selma Bank. At a time when it was thought guns would be scarce in the Confederacy, this gentleman distinguished himself by saying, "If we cannot get guns, we will take pikes; if we cannot get pikes, we will take shovels and hoes; and if we cannot get them, we will use brickbats, we will scratch the Yankees' eyes out with our finger nails."

Col. N. H. R. Dawson, pardoned, was the first man who wore the South Carolina cockade in this State; raised a company of minute men, became officer in the rebel conscript bureau; said the rich men would procure the means, and the poor men would do the fighting; was in favor of raising the black flag, etc.

Lehman & Bros., rich Jews, and merchants in this city, were pardoned. They were blockade runners, and were spoken of by Gov. Watts, in his message, as "having furnished, during the entire war, valuable material for the army."

A. D. Barnet, Isaac Micon, A. Kirk, and others comprising the firm of Barnett, Micon & Co., Montgomery, are now, and were before the war, the owners and proprietors of the Tallasa Cotton Factory, located in Talapoosa county, this State. This company made an immense fortune during the war, having been favored contractors of the so-called Confederate Government. The company was, and is now, composed of persons most hostile to the United States. They were noted during the war for their vigilance in pushing and persecuting Union citizens.

They even refused to furnish poor women and children of the State with a yard of cloth for any price, giving as a reason that they "alone manufactured cloth for the soldiers of the Confederate army." At the close of the rebellion they were in possession of a large amount of cotton, not less than 2,500 bales, with other property. Much of this cotton belonged to the Confederate government, it having been sent to this factory to be manufactured into clothing for the army.

This company coming within several sections of the President's amnesty proclamation, and their factory being liable to confiscation under the acts of Congress, they engaged the services of a prominent lawyer, named Seibles (now dead), and contracted with him to obtain pardon for the various members, he (Seibles) to receive for his services one-third of the cotton. The petitions were prepared, recommended, and forwarded to Washington, and in due time the pardons were granted. The company, finding themselves pardoned, compromised with their attorney by paying him $60,000.

This affair being concluded, the next step was to present to the Secretary of the Treasury a large claim for compensation, which is at this time under consideration at Washington.

The company above spoken of is the one which proposed to send Jeff. Davis one hundred and fifty negroes after the Confederate Congress had passed an act to use slaves for military purposes; and when Davis had to flee from Richmond, this company offered and used their factory and buildings as a depository for the property of the Richmond government.

All recommended for pardon by Gov. Parsons! And I might extend the list to hundreds, but it is needless to do so. The most violent secessionists, the most incorrigible rebels, the most relentless persecutors of Union men of this State are already pardoned, and there is no reason to doubt that the cart load of petitions gone up from this State, and yet to be considered by the President, will be granted.

About the middle of last month it became generally known in this city that pardons were being *bought*, or rather that recommendations were being secured by payment of certain sums to Mr. Garrett, Gov. Parson's Secretary of State. James Q. Smith, U. S. District Attorney, having become assured that this was the fact, went to the Governor and showed him the evidence of it, and informed him that steps had better be taken to check such abuse. The Governor was astounded, and the result was the resignation of Secretary Garrett. A committee was appointed who investigated the matter, and reported that the Secretary only took pay for *extra labor*, which he had to perform in examining so many applications, the Governor having given it into his hands to make out a brief of each case and a statement of the merits, in order to save time. Gov. Parsons immediately telegraphed the President to grant no pardons for this State until further orders, and you know what a flutter was caused by it. But a shower of dispatches came down from Washington, and cooled the Governor's righteous indignation to such an extent that the restriction was soon removed, and the pardon wheel is again running, though perhaps, not as well "greased" as it was some months ago,

### INTERESTING REPORT WITH REGARD TO MATTERS IN WEST ALABAMA.

The following is a report of an expedition sent out by Gen. Swayne to investigate reported outrages against freedmen in Western Alabama, and to see how the people were receiving the new regime.

Major Miller, who led the expedition, is highly competent for this important duty, and every word in his report may be set down as perfectly reliable:

MONTGOMERY, ALA., Sept. 25.

On Friday, the 8th instant, I started from Mobile with an escort of mounted infantry, Capt. Schafer's 21st Missouri, consisting of thirty-five men, with four six-mule wagons. I took the old ridge road from Mobile to St. Stephen's, Washington county. During the day I met and conversed with several individuals, who were employing freedmen. At Mount Vernon I found that the freedmen were generally doing well. They were remaining at home and generally contented. The only complaint they made to me was their separation from their wives and families. Some of them came away from other counties, leaving their families behind, and now are afraid to go for them. The freedmen are working for a portion of the crop, varying on different plantations from one-tenth to one-fourth, besides food and clothing. * *

Near McIntosh Bluff I discovered by the side of the road a newly-made grave, near a house. I inquired whose grave it was and was informed that only a few days before one Dr. Grierson, a Union man and prominent citizen of Washington county, had been basely murdered, and this was his grave. The supposed murderers had left the county, or were secreted in the swamps, but the citizens were trying to ferret them out. Some months ago a negro was shot, and these same persons are supposed to be the guilty parties.

The crops through this section are almost worthless, and the most aboriginal form of government exists. Many must starve, except assistance is received, and at many points a military force should be stationed to teach the lawless submission.

On Monday reached St. Stephens. Here met Capt. Smith with six men of the 21st Missouri, sent here to administer the oath. I saw much of the people, and held a long interview with a Dr. Houston, of this place, the only Union man—and prominent—throughout this section of the country. I learned that threats were made upon the lives of Capt. Smith and his little squad, of which I made report to Gen. Canby, requesting that his full company be allowed to report to him; and I am gratified lo learn that my suggestion was favorably entertained. I am sure the irregularities carried on there against freedmen will be corrected.

A gross outrage had been perpetrated fifteen miles from this place a fortnight ago. A freedman had returned to the plantation of a Mr. Fletcher to get his wife. Fletcher resisted the negro, shot him and afterward cut off his head. On hearing it Capt. Smith with one man, went to arrest Fletcher, but he had made his escape and has not been seen since.

On Tuesday I reached Bladen Springs, in Choctaw county. Here I met at my tent some ten or twelve citizens and planters, and explained to them the nature of my mission, etc. They had heard of the existence of a Freedmen's Bureau, but had very imperfect ideas of its workings. While two or three appeared to appreciate the existing status of the negro, and manifested a decent inclination to make the best of circumstances, the majority were doubting and disbelieving. That I found to be general.

*Where I met one man who seemed inclined to appreciate the new order of things I met fifty who expressed perfect faithlessness in any other system than compulsory labor.* I should exaggerate but little were I to say I met many who hardly knew the war was over—certainly many who were not half conquered.

Through the country over which I travelled a different sentiment is obtaining from that which existed among the people a few months ago. Outrages on freedmen were then frequent and cruel. In many sections this has changed, but I am aware and know that too much of this oppression toward these people (the freedmen) still exists. But with the opening of the avenues of intelligence, and, in some parts, the presence of a military force, I can but believe this will pass away. While the people have faith only in slavery as a successful mode of labor, they recognize the fact that the negro must still be the laborer. Where formerly they were driving them away, they are now inviting them to stay. In many cases husbands and families are separated, and neither dare join the other.

Among the whites, I regret being compelled to say, but little loyalty to the United States Government exists. With too many the oath of allegiance is but a mockery, and openly professed so. They take the oath for the privileges it confers; and nothing else. With the returned soldiers that is somewhat different. They are men generally who have found some employment, and are seeking, by honest industry, to retrieve a part of the wreck which four years of war have made of their fortunes.

Clark county is in advance. In various parts of Monroe county, the life of a citizen is in constant peril. I have recommended to the General commanding, the necessity of sending to this county a competent military force. Two companies of infantry, one mounted and one colored, have been sent to Claibourn and this will possibly be increased. Were there an agent of this Bureau, with a company partly mounted, at Bladen Springs in Choctaw county, also at Gosport Landing in Clark county, I am confident the day would not be far distant when very much more satisfactory reports would come from Western Alabama.

Respectfully, etc., CHAS. A. MILER,
Major 2d Maine Cavalry.

## *THE STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN THE RECONSTRUCTED STATES.*

The following is the proclamation of Gov. Sharkey relating to negro testimony:

PROCLAMATION.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, }
JACKSON, MISS., September 29, 1865.

By an order bearing date the 20th inst., Colonel Samuel Thomas, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in this State, proposes to transfer to the civil authorities of the State the right to try all cases, in which the rights of freedmen are involved, either for injuries done to their persons or property. This proposition is made, however, on condition that "the judicial officers and magistrates of the Provisional Government of the the State will take for their mode of procedure the laws now in force in this State, except so far as those laws make a distinction on account of color, and allow negroes the same rights as are accorded to white men before their Courts," by which I understand that negroes shall be allowed to testify in cases where their interest is involved.

And believing that the late Constitutional Amendment, which abolishes slavery, abolishes also all laws which constituted a part of the policy of the system of slavery, and in declaring that the negro shall be protected in his person and property, establishes principles which, of themselves, entitle the negro to sue and be sued, and as a necessary incident to such right, that he is made competent as a witness, according to the laws of evidence of the State;

Now, therefore, I, William L. Sharkey, Provisional Governor of Mississippi, with the view of securing to our citizens the right of trial before their own officers, and under their own laws, rather than by a military tribunal and by military law, do hereby proclaim, and make known, that in all cases, civil or criminal, in which the rights of negroes are involved, either for injuries done to their persons or property, or in matters of contract, the testimony of negroes may be received, subject to the common law rule of evidence, as regards competency and credibility which prevail in regard to white persons.

And I do, therefore, accept the proposition of Colonel Samuel Thomas, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau of this State, and request that no Freedmen's Court shall hereafter be organized, and that those already in existence be closed, and instructed to transfer the cases before them to the civil authorities; and I hereby instruct all judicial officers and magistrates to act accordingly, until the Legislature shall act upon this subject.

Given under my hand, and the great seal of the State affixed, this the day and date above written

W. L. SHARKEY,
Provisional Governor of the State of Mississippi,
By the Governor: JOHN H. ECHOLS,
Secretary of State.

From the Jackson Daily News, October 4.

Let the advocates of negro equality before the judicial tribunals of the country take warning. The issue was distinctly and fairly made upon that question in this county, and John D. Freeman, who endorsed the opinion of Gov. Sharkey, that the action of the recent Convention made "a competent witness" of the negro, has been condemned with a loud voice. Let the true men of the country rejoice that there is life in the old land yet. We predicted a "crushing defeat" for Freeman, and a glance at the election returns will prove that we were not mistaken.

*Let the Mississippian and Clarion fall upon their marrow bones.* Let them pray hard that their sins may be forgiven, for we can assure them that this, the sound of the first gun, is reverberating throughout the land, and no man, however strong, can withstand such artillery.

### NEGRO TESTIMONY RESULT IN HINDS COUNTY.

From the Jackson News, October 5.

It is a fact well to be noted, that of the four candidates for the State Senate in this county, three out of the four, Messrs. Mount, Holmes and Hawkins, were uncompromisingly opposed to the doctrine that the Convention, in freeing the negro, made him a "competent witness." Freeman embraced that doctrine—the result in this county shows how overwhelmingly the proposition was defeated. Freeman received only 199 votes, and the vote against him on that question was 957. *This is a fair sample of the opinion of the people throughout the State on this important question.*

From the Meridian (Miss.) Clarion, Oct. 1.

The people of the South, if they mean to take their former position in the Union, must come up to the demands of President Johnson. The *Clarion* has not gone, and will not go, beyond this. As a Lone Star contemporary observes, let it not be surmised we have recently entertained any ulterior purposes in regard to the negroes. In this matter, as in the matter of loyalty, and the spirit in which the amnesty oath is to be taken, we express ourselves openly and candidly. *We are in favor of carrying out the policy of the Government, for which we have pledged ourselves on oath, in regard to the negro. As to our own opinions in regard to the relations of the negro and the white man, they have not been changed at all.*

We have always held, and do still, so far as abstract conviction is concerned, that our old system, when properly developed, and freed from the evils which attended it, and which all acknowledged was the best both for the blacks and the whites. But our Government has decided to destroy it. We have taken an oath to support the Government, and that oath especially designates emancipation as one of the measures to be supported. Therefore, we are compelled to give up the "institution," and much as we do regret it, we do give it up. We are in favor of giving the negro all the advantages of his new relation so far as his character and the good of society will warrant. We have favored this and nothing more. The *Clarion* has never contended for *negro equality*, before the Judiciary or in any other way whatever.

We hold this to be a white man's government, to be administered solely by white men; and that, while the negro should be treated with humanity and justice, all attempts to place him on social or political equality with the white man should be sternly opposed, as destructive alike to the best interests of both races, and could only end in ruin and degradation.

TWO MODES OF BAPTISM.—The following is a pretty fair exhibition of the feelings wherewith the baser sort of our reconstructed rebels regard the colored race:

"On Sunday morning, a large assemblage of colored persons of both sexes collected on the river, near the steel works, at Richmond, to witness the baptism of fifty or sixty colored persons by a Baptist minister, also colored. About the conclusion of the ablution ceremony, some white boys commenced stoning the colored folks. One woman was struck, and quite severely hurt. It was reported that one man was killed, but we could not trace the report to any solution. The fight was continued into the city, when the police interfered and stopped it. Several arrests were made."

Would it wrong the parents of those "White boys," asks the N. Y. *Tribune*, if their representatives should be required to wait a bit on the steps of the two Houses until we can ascertain whether the heartily loyal blacks are to have any right of self-protection against the multiform exhibition of the spirit evinced by this stoning to which they are now subjected.

## *CONNECTICUT.—TURNING OF THE TIDE.*

From the Montgomery (Alabama) Daily Advertiser.

It is alike indicative of a sensible reaction in the extreme New England States, and significant of the downfall of the fanatical rule under which the country has groaned for the last four years, that the State of Connecticut should have fired the first gun at this auspicious moment against the revolting proposition of negro suffrage. On the 1st instant the question was submitted to the people of that State whether they would strike the word *white* from their Constitution, so that the negro might vote. Every influence was brought to bear by influential politicians and presses of the Black Republican school, to induce the white men of Connecticut to carry out the degrading dogma of negro equality; but they signally refused to be led by the nose, as was evident from the dispatch published yesterday. Every county, except one, voted no; and the State has gone the same way about six thousand votes. Well done!

*The result is important, as showing that the tide is setting in the right direction.* The leaders saw it, and tried to avert their doom, but it was no use. The fiat has gone forth, even from New England, that henceforth this is to be a white man's government, as contemplated by the fathers of the Republic. Negroes, when freed, are entitled to perfect equality of personal rights before the law; they may own property, enter into contracts, sue and be sued, testify in courts; but to give them political rights—the right to vote, to hold office, to sit on juries, and the like—would force the superior race to the level of the lower; revolutionize and overthrow the Government. A few more such rebukes as Connecticut has given to the Radical party will enable our Representatives and Senators to take their seats in Congress, and the States will be restored to their once proud and happy position of equality and fraternity in the Union.

## *SUFFRAGE AND PREJUDICE.*

[The *Journal of Freedom* is the name of a new paper in Raleigh, North Carolina, "devoted to Universal Suffrage;" J. Q. A. Crane, Publisher; Edward P. Brooks, late correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, Editor. In an article headed Suffrage and Prejudice, it says:]

If people will allow themselves to be guided by common sense, laying aside their prejudices, the great political questions which have arisen with the new state of affairs in the South will be settled amicably and without difficulty. Time was when the free colored population of North Carolina exercised the right of suffrage with the whites, and the records of that period do not show that the State was injured by it, nor would any of the many men now alive, who received colored votes, be willing, we think, to admit that they were degraded by them. Many a man who talks of the degradation of such a thing has, in times past, placed his vote side by side in the same ballot-box with that of a colored man. This right was only taken from the free colored man because of its influence over the slaves. There are no slaves now, and consequently no pernicious influence can be exerted if this right is re-established. Plainly, if it is not re-established, it will be on account of prejudice. Some of the best blood of North Carolina flows in the veins of those who are proscribed on account of color. Men whose intelligence is acknowledged, even by their enemies, to be superior to that of many who now exercise the precious right unquestioned, are also placed in the back-ground, merely on account of color. No sensible man can for a moment oppose the extension of the privilege of the elective franchise to the colored man on account of his lack of intelligence. It is only necessary to go to any large city, in order to find more ignorant and debased voters than they would make; in fact, to find such men it is not necessary to leave this section. *There are hundreds, aye, thousands, of freedmen who, while slaves, were trusted by their masters in business transactions of great importance, and there is an equal if not a larger number of white voters, proportionately, in every community, who are not entitled to, and do not receive, the same confidence.* Manifestly, then, the exclusion of the colored man from a privilege which some of them are equally fitted to exercise with some of the whites, is merely the result of prejudice. A simple and just application of the great principle on which our government is based—the consent of the governed—would obliterate all distinction on account of color, or race, and the African would have the same right to a voice in making laws which he has to obey, as the Irishman. No one will pretend for a moment to deny the right of a native of Irish, German or English descent to vote, and it seems to the unprejudiced a strange piece of inconsistency that an exception to this generally accepted rule should be made against the descendants of Africans.

## *THE CONTEST IN MISSISSIPPI ABOUT NEGRO TESTIMONY.*

From the Cincinnati Commercial.

THE Jackson *News* breaks with Governor Sharkey, because in his recent proglamation, in which he accepts the proposition of Colonel Samuel Thomas, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, to transfer to the civil authorities of the State the right to try civil cases in which the rights of freedmen are involved, he advocates "the equality of the negro before our judicial tribunals," and states his conviction that the "late constitutional amendment makes the negro competent as a witness, according to the laws of evidence of the State."

The *News* is of opinion that the amendment did not repeal the existing laws on the subject of negro testimony, and declares that "no public man in Mississippi can survive the storm of indignation which will pelt him into obscurity if he avows himself the advocate of equality of the negro before the judicial tribunals of the country." It says: "We must refuse persistently, even at the expense of a temporary Freedman's Bureau, to permit this first advance against the rights and liberties of the white man."

It is very evident, from the acrimony of the discussion now going on in the Mississippi and other Southern newspapers, that the question of allowing the negroes to testify in the courts is to be an issue in the local politics of those States, till the matter is finally decided one way or the other. We fail to discover in what respect the rights and liberties of the whites are to be restricted by admitting the negro to the witness stand. In Ohio negro testimony is taken upon the same conditions as that of the whites, and the jury is left to determine what degree of credibility is to be given it. We have not heard that any body's liberty or rights have been impaired by this simple act of justice. If it is the purpose of the Mississippians to so arrange their local laws as to put it in the power of the master-class to outrage and abuse the freedmen, and if the license to outrage and wrong this despised race is regarded as a right and a liberty not to be restricted, we can understand the hostility which the *News* manifests to Governor Sharkey's proposition.

It is perhaps well to observe here that the blacks have been set free, and as freedmen the Government of the United States is bound to protect them, and secure to them the rights of freedmen under a republican form of government. The Freedmen's Bureau has been established to promote this object, to see that the treatment of these people is fair and just, that the master-class do not overpower and cheat them out of the freedom bestowed upon them; that it shall be a fact as well as a name, and that in all things they shall be subject to no exceptional laws and regulations oppressive and unjust in their character. If the people of Mississippi have the disposition with which the *News* credits them, and the Legislature embodies that spirit in its legislation, the Freedmen's Bureau, which the *News* stigmatizes as "an inquisition" and "an oppression," will assume a more permanent character than will be agreeable to the pro-slavery editor of the *News*.

MAN OR BEAST.—The Mobile *Tribune* characterizes the Democrats and Republicans of the North as man and beast. It says:

"Every one in this part of the country is interested in knowing which of these parties is likely to obtain a control of us rebels. To state the difference between them is, as it were, to ask, "Who is a beast or a man?" Well, we take pleasure in saying that the man is likely to rule; that the beast has overshot his mark, and left the game for his better brother of the North. The New England animosity has overshot its mark. It has been too eager to reap its spoils. It has betrayed its desire for rapacity too soon. Its avidity for gain or plunder, therefore, in this special case, is likely to bring it no profit; and the contemplation of this fact—that there is no dollars in it—must be an intolerable torture."

The rebels evidently think as much of the Democratic party now as they did at the outbreak of the rebellion and during the war. They did think their Democratic friends failed to "toe the mark" during the war, but they are now no less disposed to use them as tools to accomplish their purposes. —*Cincinnati Gazette.*

## *AWAY WITH HIM!*

From the N. Y. Tribune.

COLORPHOBIA dies hard, and it must be admitted that its ultimate spasms are a little laughable, as it stiffens into the rigidity of a *reductio ad absurdum*. Class hatred seems to find death itself sweet in comparison with concession or even compromise. The Cherokee Indian, turning up his nose contemptuously between two high cheek bones, "objects to the incorporation of the freedmen into his tribe." The State of Connecticut, still enamored of blue legislation, thinks the black good enough for battles, but not good enough for the ballot-box. The Rev. Gov. Brownlow is for instantly kicking every emancipated man, woman and child out of Tennessee. So it seems that wherever these dark foot-balls may land they will be unpleasant to somebody; and as there are several millions of them—a good, solid, constituent part of the national population, under a positive necessity, while they live at all, of living somewhere, it occurs to us that the readiest way of solving this impertinent problem is to put all these intruders upon the face of God's earth to the sword. Does any chicken-hearted humanitarian protest that this expedient would be wanting to some extent in benevolence? Bah! who is talking of benevolence at all? We are considering something better—bread and butter, the peace of society, ancient and respectable prejudices, the delicate feelings of the Cherokee Indians and of the inhabitants of Connecticut, the sacred dignity of Caucasian demi-gods, the purity of pews and of theater-boxes and of railway carriages, and of schools and colleges, the nice nobility of the well-born because they are white-born, the traditional limitations of fastidious Democracy, the exquisite taste of porter-houses and primary meetings, the weak knees of nervous Republicans, the susceptibility of the whole tribe of the Holier-than-Thou's! None of these are the men to find fault with our proposition upon the score of cruelty. Why should they be tender of lives which they are so ready to make wretched? The black is either a man or a beast. If the former, he has a right to live where he pleases; if the latter, he is mere vermin, and no more to be tolerated upon the political than loathsome insects upon the physical body. We have nothing but scorn for the logic which faints at its own conclusions. We have nothing but contempt for theories which the holders shrink from reducing to practice. We shoot wolves, we trap weasels, we hunt foxes, we kill pole-cats, we shoot crows, we wage a war of extermination upon rats and cockroaches, and who calls our persistent and mortal hostility cruel? It is not against the existence but the neighborhood of these nuisances that we protest practically and remorselessly. Now, though the farmer in Maine may care nothing for the wolves in Minnesota, and the householder in New York nothing for the roaches in Philadelphia, it is evident that while wolves and roaches remain, they must live somewhere and trouble somebody. So it is with these horrible blacks! If Brownlow had a purse plethoric enough, and power adequate to transport all these troublesome creatures somewhere, it is certain that he could not carry them beyond the ultimate reach of advancing white civilization. He merely temporizes. He merely rids his day and generation of a trouble, and bequeaths it to posterity. He merely relieves one locality at the expense of another. Our plan is more consistently humane. If we cut the throats of all the blacks, we sever at the same time the gordian knot. We put the animal out of his misery, and we put ourselves out of our misery, and all will be serene. We do not pretend to be more pitiful than our neighbors; but we believe the *coup de grace* to be better and kinder than prolonged torture, "the happy dispatch" tenderer than deliberate worrying. If this poor black creature is to be hunted from town to town, from county to county, and from State to State, finding nowhere a resting place, nowhere compassion and succor, nowhere a home, nowhere escape from ingenious and unceasing enmity, the sooner he is released from an existence so execrable the more fortunate will he be. Even if it should turn out to be all a mistake, he can hardly be worse off in the worst condition of the future life than he has been in this. With no feeling but that of pity, and moved by the sincerest commiseration, we submit our plan to the notice of the kind-hearted and charitable, and recommend a public meeting at Cooper Institute to inaugurate the movement.

THE LAST SHALL BE FIRST.—The *Commercial Advertiser* has a letter from an intelligent observer in Western Arkansas, which says of the Poor Whites and the Blacks of that State:

"These two classes are now side by side, and each placed under new conditions. Both are destined, I feel confident, to rise in the scale of civilization; but, for a time at least, Sambo will be in the van. His thirst for education, and his willingness to overcome his natural love of indolence, are manifest to every observer. Let figures speak: Chaplain Springer, who is almoner of the Government bounty to the destitute in Western Arkansas, distributed rations in July last to 2,733 whites and to 12 blacks. In August, to 1,444 whites and to 9 blacks. This month it will be to about 1,000 of the superior race, *while not a single colored person has applied*, or is likely to apply. The blacks have a self-supporting school, which was established by Chaplain Springer. This Government aid will be required during the ensuing winter. Care is taken to exclude all who are not absolutely destitute. In a few months these miserable, shiftless negro-haters must be thrown on their own resources, when, like the blacks, they will discover that starvation can only be averted by the sweat of the brow. But the negro has the start, particularly in the matter of learning to read—which is a passion with many. Of the negro regiment at Port Smith, composed largely of Arkansas field-hands, all read or are learning to read. Unless Arkansas adopts soon a sytem of public schools, she will find the mass of her white population far below her colored in the matter of education—in fitness to discharge the duties of citizenship."

DEATH OF WM. L. YANCEY, AND HOW IT HAPPENED.—Till now it has been generally understood that William L. Yancey, the chief originator of the "fire" which subsequently proved so destructive to the "Southern heart," died a natural death; but it seems that his end, like that of Ruffin and many thousand of the deluded rebel leaders, was one caused by violence. The Nashville (Tenn.) *Banner* relates the circumstances of his injury and death as follows—the scene of the former being the Confederate Congress during its second session:

"The question of a navy was under discussion in secret session. The debate ranged beyond the parliamentary limits, and Messrs. Yancey and Hill became animated over the abstract doctrines of State rights and the divinity of slavery. High words passed, and finally the lie was given by Mr. Hill. Mr. Yancey leaped forward, and as he aimed a blow at his adversary, was caught in the arms of the latter and violently thrown back over a desk. Mr. Hill is a man of wonderful muscular development. Mr. Yancey was never very heavy, though lithe and active. In the fall his spine was seriously injured, and when the bystanders rushed upon the two and dragged the one from the other, the great fire-eater lay unconscious upon the floor, with a little trickle of blood oozing from his lips. He was carried to his hotel; a vote of secrecy was passed, and the encounter hushed up. No one in Richmond except that body of men knew of the circumstances for six months after. Meanwhile the victim did not recover. He drooped from day to day. He became listless, hopeless, and vacant. He was transferred to his own home, where his convulsions ceased a few weeks before his death, which was tranquil and calm."

NOT DESTROYED.—The *World* is sadly disgusted with the condition of the South. It says: "In the act of Emancipation at least $2,000,000,000 of property has been destroyed." Let it dry up its tears. The property of which it speaks consisted of the muscles and souls of men and women. Not a fibre of them was destroyed by emancipation. They were only restored to their rightful owners. What was taken from the master was given to the slave, and the enormous array of figures only serves to show the vast amount of wealth of which the whites of the South had robbed the negroes.—*Chicago Tribune.*

## *THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ABOLISHING SLAVERY.*

From the New York Herald.

BEFORE Colorado was admitted to the Union it required the vote of twenty-seven States to ratify the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. It happened that there were just twenty-seven loyal States at the time the amendment passed Congress, if we include East Virginia, Louisiana and Arkansas; and if each of these States had adopted the amendment, as they all should have done, it would now be part of the supreme law of the land. Delaware, however, and Kentucky and New Jersey hung fire, and up to this date only twenty-four States have recorded their votes in the affirmative. We place these facts before our readers in tabular form, as follows:

RATIFICATIONS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Illinois, Feb. 1, 1865. | Indiana, Feb. 13, 1865. |
| Rhode Island, Feb. 2, 1865. | Nevada, Feb. 16, 1865. |
| Maryland, Feb. 3, 1865. | Louisiana, Feb. 17, 1865. |
| Massachusetts, Feb. 3, 1865. | Missouri, Feb. 24, 1865. |
| New York, Feb. 3, 1865. | Wisconsin, Feb. 24, 1865. |
| Pennsylvania, Feb. 3, 1865. | Vermont, March 9, 1865. |
| West Virginia, Feb. 3, 1865. | Tennessee, April 5, 1865. |
| Michigan, Feb. 4, 1865. | Arkansas, April —, 1865. |
| Maine, Feb. 7, 1865. | Connecticut, May 4, 1865. |
| Ohio, Feb. 8, 1865. | Iowa, June 30, 1865. |
| Kansas, Feb. 8, 1865. | New Hampshire, June 30, 1865. |
| Minnesota, Feb. 8, 1865. | |
| East Virginia, Feb. 9, 1865. | |

REJECTIONS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Delaware, Feb. 8, 1865. | New Jersey, March 1, 1865 |
| Kentucky, Feb. 23, 1865. | |

The new State of Colorado will, of course, vote for the amendment, as all new States are very naturally under the influence of the Administration. North Carolina, through her Convention, has embodied the amendment as a part of her State constitution, and her Legislature will ratify it at once. South Carolina is now the most loyal State in the Union—far in advance of Massachusetts—and her vote will be cast in the affirmative. Mississippi and Georgia are equally certain to vote on the right side. Thus the amendment will be soon adopted by the votes of Southern States, like Maryland, Virginia, Louisiana, Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas, North and South Carolina and Mississippi, while only one Northern State (New Jersey) and two border States, (Delaware and Kentucky) oppose it.

## *A FAMILY REUNION.*

HOW AN ESCAPED SLAVE BECAME WEALTHY AND DISCOVERED HIS RELATIVES.

A CHICAGO paper tells the story of the return to the South of an escaped slave, who had amassed wealth in the North, and recently started on a journey to discover his relatives, whom he found in Louisiana. The story is as follows:

"A few years ago, a runaway boy, with his face turned over his shoulder to watch against pursuit, came from the State of Kentucky and slavery to Illinois. He stole away in the night. He stole more than that, for he stole a likely mulatto boy worth a plump thousand dollars. He ignorantly forgot the guards which the Constitution and the laws had set about the sacred institutions of the South. He little reckoned that by his individual act he was swelling the amount of "aggravation," which at its height would induce its possessors to set their end of the national temple on fire.

"Ten years from the time when the runaway Kentucky mulatto followed the North star, he began his return journey in broad daylight, in a first class car with his fare paid. The Fugitive Slave law was a forgotten wisp. He journeyed South as leisurely and as much at his ease as the proudest peer of the land, with a full purse and a comfortable bank account to draw upon at home. This slave boy of twelve years ago was now to make a thorough search among the ruins of the fallen prison-house of slavery for the mother and sisters he left behind him in his flight. From that journey he has just returned successful. He visited the lower landings of the Mississippi, patiently followed up every clue he could gain in New Orleans, and at the close of a day's ride a few weeks since, came upon a straggling eastern Louisiana household, and behold, his mother, brothers and sisters stood before him.

"The edict of freedom had reached that place, and the freedmen were working by an arrangement with their mistress. The master was dead. He vindictively followed a brother of Mr. Ambrose into the swamps, retook him, but also took cold, lived only to flog him and sell him in Mobile for a haystack of rebel notes, and then turned his face to the wall

killing of a young man who had formerly been a scout in our army, by discharged rebel soldiers, in the northwest part of Georgia, at the same time running off some Union men who had returned to their homes in that neighborhood. We have been informed that it is unsafe for a Union man to go into the country fifteen or twenty miles from Stevenson, Ala., and in our own State we hear of cases being gotten up against men for the killing of rebels, or the burning of houses, done while in the service of the United States. All these instances, however, important as they are in themselves, are as nothing compared with the recent doings of an Episcopal Bishop of the State of Alabama. This dignitary, the Right Rev. Richard Wilmer, in a letter to the Clergy and Laity, recommends the omission in the services of the Church, in that State, of the prayer for the President of the United States and all in civil authority.

Is it any wonder, after the exhibition of such a spirit of malignity and party spite, that the Union men of the land are afraid to trust too far those who have lately been in rebellion against the Government? We doubt whether any one of the North has the least desire to misconstrue the intentions of the Southern people, but we can only judge of how they feel and think by their acts, and certainly none of them have offered any proof of a readiness on their part to advance one step forward in the path of reconstruction further than they are compelled by military power.

On the above exhibit, the Nashville *Press* and *Times* thus properly comments:

"This is a very severe reflection upon the professions of the people of the Rebel States, and its particularization adds to its severity. We have read nothing in the Chicago *Tribune*, ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and other ultra Radical journals of the North, at all approaching in the foregoing detailed statement in the sharpness of its censure. If the people of the rebel States are possessed of the temper ascribed to them by the Chattanooga *Gazette*, they will certainly defeat the President's benevolent confidence now reposed in then. We shall weep in the dust of King David's humiliation, with all the tears of irrepressible sorrow, should such be the mournful, unhappy, grievous, lamentable and agonizing result of unprecedented clemency.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1865.


## *PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.*

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

THE STANDARD Subscribers to whom bills are sent, will confer a favor by remitting the amounts due at their earliest convenience.

WENDELL PHILLIPS will speak in New York City at Cooper Institute, Wednesday evening, Oct. 25, at 8 o'clock. Subject: "THE SOUTH VICTORIOUS."

## *ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.*

THE Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the Horticultural Hall, in West Chester, on the 27th inst., day and evening.

The Executive Committee earnestly request the punctual attendance of all the members; and cordially invite all persons interested in the great problem of Emancipation, which is now being wrought out by this Nation, to assemble with us and participate in our deliberations. The glorious victories which our cause has won, fill our souls with thanksgiving; the perilous national crisis of the present hour solemnly impresses us with a sense of our responsibility and duty as Abolitionists; and both the past and the present inspire us with hope that our long-sinning Nation will soon execute justice by securing full and perfect liberty to those whom it has, for many generations, scorned, persecuted, and enslaved.

All true patriots are looking forward with intense interest to the decision of the questions upon which Congress is to legislate during its next session; questions on which the safety, perhaps the life, of the Nation depends. In the interval, it is the manifest duty of Abolitionists to use diligently their well-proved "staff of accomplishment," agitation, to so mould and guide public sentiment that justice to the colored race shall not be sacrificed to a false and transient peace, and the *name* of freedom for the slave substituted for its reality.

At our approaching meeting, plans for efficient action during this momentous interval will be proposed and discussed.

Let none, through weariness of long warfare, be in haste to put off their armor before the last battle is completely won; let none assume, while slavery has an actual and legal existence anywhere in our Nation, that our work can be safely delegated to political parties. They have their own work to do, and with their own weapons. The Abolitionists have theirs, from which they cannot be absolved until the abolition of American slavery is complete.

The Committee confidently expect that WENDELL PHILLIPS and PARKER PILLSBURY will be present and participate in the discussions of the Society.

Cars leave Thirty-first and Market streets at 8.05 and 11 a.m. JAMES MOTT, President.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Cor. Secretary.

## *THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.*

WE print in full the speech of President Johnson to the colored troops, though it would have been easy to condense it into one-third the space without omitting any essential statement. But the speech has been eagerly lauded by such of the Republican papers as are anxious to find the semblance of Radicalism in the President, and as we are not able to find much in it to praise, we put the whole text before our readers, and they can judge of it for themselves. The great length of the address—great in proportion to the number of its ideas—is probably its chief recommendation. We suppose there are people who feel grateful that a President of the United States should condescend to address a harangue of a column or so to a colored regiment. Before they permit their emotion to overpower them entirely, they may find it worth while to examine what the President says. To a careful reader it will appear that Mr. Johnson has employed the familiar device of using many words to conceal his want of positive opinions—or, perhaps, his unreadiness to declare his opinions, whether positive or not.

The best comment on the President's address to the negroes is the President's address to the McFarland delegation early in September. It is not so much what is said, as the tone and undercurrent of feeling, that give character to two speeches made in such circumstances. Judged by that test, the speech of the President to the rebels might better have been made to the colored troops, and the speech to the colored troops made to the rebels. The one was full of compliment and conciliation; the other was all exhortation and admonition. The President greeted the rebels as brothers; he talked to a regiment of Union soldiers like a pedagogue or a drill master.

This speech cannot be considered as addressed only to the regiment drawn up in front of the Executive Mansion. It reaches the ears of two hundred thousand colored troops who wear or have just laid off the national uniform, and is heard with intense interest as the first address of the President to them. As soldiers they listen for a word of commendation for their matchless services from their Commander-in-Chief. Eager eyes of men kindling with just pride as they remembered the long devotion of their despised race, and the brilliant courage of their soldiers whom a great party of white men denounced as cowards, have scanned the report of the President's speech to find in it that honorable eulogy dear to the soldier's heart. The black heroes remembered all in a moment Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend, Olustee and Fort Wagner, battles in which they had displayed a valor and constancy surpassed by nothing in the war. But it does not appear that President Johnson ever heard of those memorable occasions. He is kind enough to tell the men whose splendid courage saved this nation, that they "served with patience and endurance!" and that their departure might want no circumstance of insult and contumely at the hands of the Executive, this same regiment a few days later is cheated out of its pay by a quibble on a statute, and its soldiers denied their bounty unless they can prove their freedom at the time of their enlistment!

Upon the half-sober dissertation of Mr. Johnson concerning liberty, we do not care to comment. What can be said of such an ejaculation as this?

"Liberty (and may I not call you my countrymen?) consists in the glorious privilege of work; of pursuing the ordinary avocations of peace with industry and with economy; and that being done, all those who have been industrious and economical are permitted to appropriate and enjoy the products of their own labor. [Cheers.] This is one of the great blessings of freedom; and *hence* we might ask the question, and answer it, by stating that liberty means freedom to work and enjoy the products of your own labor. You will soon be mustered out of the ranks. It is for you to establish the great fact that you are fit and qualified to be free. *Hence*, freedom is not a mere idea, but is something that exists in fact. Freedom is not *simply* the privilege to live in idleness; liberty does not mean *simply* to resort to the low saloons and other places of disreputable character. Freedom and liberty do not mean that the people ought to live in licentiousness, but liberty means *simply* to be industrious, to be virtuous, to be upright in all our dealings and relations with men; and to those now before me, members of the first regiment of colored volunteers from the District of Columbia and the Capital of the United States, I have to say that a great deal depends upon yourselves. You must give evidence that you are competent for the rights that the government has guaranteed to you."

The supreme hypocrisy of this speech is its lecture about licentiousness. Mr. Johnson says he has lived in a Southern State and knows all about plantation life. He therefore advises the negroes to esteem the contract of marriage as higher and more solemn than almost all others. We can only conclude that Mr. Johnson in some momentary confusion conceived himself to be addressing an audience of white Southerners. His remarks would have been timely and forcible if incorporated in the speech delivered to the McFarland delegation in September. The Southern planters neither recognized the binding force of marriages among their slaves, nor were true to their own wives. A woman who called herself the wife of a slave had no security from the embraces of her master, nor from an indiscriminate concubinage with other slaves, if either the lust or avarice of the master controlled him. Mr. Johnson well knows that the statute book of Tennessee and of every other Southern State made marriage a mockery and virtue impossible to the black; yet before the slave code is abolished in a single State, he administers to the victims of it a lecture on the merits of chastity!

It is fair to admit that the President does not promise his black auditors a permanent millennium to this country, even should they follow his advice in such matters. Although he unaccountably forgot to touch on that topic when addressing a conclave of traitors, and to warn the men who had sought to destroy the country that their continuance in it was dependent on their good behavior, he cautions the men who fought for the Union that it may not be large enough to allow them a home in the future. The President has the inconceivable impertinence to talk to these colored soldiers of colonization—a dead folly years since buried, for which a resurrection has been vainly sought by such relics of antiquity as Montgomery Blair and Senator Doolittle. If Mr. Johnson wished to join such a party, he might have chosen at least a more decent occasion for the declaration of his views. That this speech should be fastened on by his partisans to cajole the country out of its purpose to do justice to the colored race is evidence of the strait in which the Radicals find themselves. There is a sentence or two that reads fairly, but the speech as a whole is discreditable to the President, and an insult to the Four Millions of loyal citizens whom it consigns to a political purgatory.

## *THE EPISCOPAL CONVENTION.*

A CONVENTION of the Protestant Episcopal Church has been in session at Philadelphia during the last and the present week. Its main work is to "reconstruct" the church by uniting the Northern and Southern branches, and its method of reconstruction is of course "conciliation"—a word that has grown unhappily to be almost a synonyme for *humiliation*. Always the most pro-slavery of the churches, the Episcopal body shows itself moved still by a spirit of abject subservience to the Southern sentiment. The debate on the case of Bishop Wilmer of Alabama is an illustration:

Rev. Geo. D. Cummins, D.D., of Illinois, said that it was the glory of the Church that she was the last body to break the ecclesiastical bonds of the Union, and let her be the first to restore these bonds. Let her gather them up and weave them into a chain of love, never to be broken. He contended that the Southern church conformed to the Confederate government from strictly conscientious motives, believing that paramount allegiance was due to the State. Their course, therefore, was not schismatic. They were simply mistaken in a point of duty.

Dr. Kerfoot, of Conn., *took the ground that the South was right in what they did.* They acted upon a fiction now passed away, but it was a fact then, and they proceeded to organize the work of Christ. The peace of the Church and the peace of the nation demand the instant settlement of this question. The Southern churches acted conscientiously, and he was prepared to take them by the hand when the opportunity is presented.

Ex.-Gov. Fish of New York argued that Bishop Wilmer was, to all intents, a foreign Bishop, not having been consecrated by the Church North. He is to be brought into the church as a foreign bishop would be, and must declare conformity with the obligations imposed by its laws. Gov. Fish offered a resolution in conformity with his views.

Judge Chambers of Maryland seconded the views of Gov. Fish. Mr. Wilmer, he said, is a bishop as much as any one, but not a bishop of the United States. He should be legislated for as a "foreign Bishop." Knowing the family intimately he had not the slightest doubt but that Bishop Wilmer wishes to reunite himself to the Church. He has abandoned all ideas of a confederacy, and has come back to the United States as a citizen. But he cannot be received into the church till he has presented evidence of his consecration and made a declaration of conformity.

During the debate a message was received from the House of Bishops on the subject, *that body being in favor of at once recognizing the validity of Bishop Wilmer's consecration without any qualification*, but as the House of Delegates demur to this, they proposed a committee of conference, which was agreed to.

A still more direct issue arose on the following resolution, introduced by Horace Binney of Philadelphia:

Resolved, that this house in most cordially concurring, as it has done, in the resolution of the House of Bishops, appointing a day of thanksgiving for the return of peace to the country and union to the Church, most respectfully expresses to the House of Bishops its most earnest desire that, in the religious services to be appointed for the day, especial thanks be offered to Almighty God for the reestablishment of the national authority over the whole country, *and for the removal of that great occasion of national dissension and estrangement to which our late troubles were due.*

A storm followed. Judge Chambers instantly moved to lay the resolution on the table. Mr. Binney tried to be heard on his resolution but was choked down. The motion to lay on the table was carried, when Dr. Goodwin moved a reconsideration, which motion, like the resolution itself, was laid on the table by the crushing vote of—clerical, yeas 20, nays 6; lay, yeas 15, nays 7. The effect of this parliamentary sharp practice, as explained to the convention before the vote, was to prevent the question being again taken up during the session of the convention. And the result is that the Protestant Episcopal Church of America declares that it is thankful neither for the reestablishment of the national authority over the whole country, nor for the destruction of slavery. That that is the real sentiment of the church there can be no doubt, nor need it excite amazement in the mind of any body who knows the history of this organization. Perhaps it is well for the country that such a body should have the courage to proclaim its sympathy with treason and hatred of justice—an open enemy being less dangerous than an enemy wearing the mask of loyalty and Christianity.

## *TWO WARNINGS TO THE PRESIDENT.*

THE Eastern Republicans are begining to echo the voice of the Western, and to notify the President that their support of his Administration may be contingent on his devotion to the principles of the party. Mr. Greeley, invigorated by his Western tour, addresses a letter of rebuke to Senator Doolittle and of cordial sympathy to the Wisconsin Radicals, from which we extract the most significant passages:

"Mr. Doolittle is evidently of those who think we have no further need of the negro, and may now safely kick him out of our sight—whistle him down the wind. I differ from him most decidedly. In my view, as in that of the Declaration above quoted, the rightful authority of the Union over the States lately in revolt rests to-day upon their black inhabitants. If they are no part of the body politic, South Carolina and Mississippi are in the Union to-day only by virtue of superior force—the law of the strongest. I cannot deem that a just or safe basis of republican authority. I hold the South to be rightfully in the Union because a clear majority of her people desire that she should be. In making my count, I do not exclude impenitent, unpardoned rebels; but I insist that all ardent, unswerving Unionists shall be counted likewise. Let not our antagonists object to black faces, since we do not to black hearts.

"Mr. Doolittle dilates windily on States; asks 'what constitutes a State?' and proclaims that 'a State never dies.' As I have appointed no Provisional Governors to supersede those regularly chosen by the people, and nullified no elections, I do not feel called on to controvert his pompous dictum. But to his question I answer, 'the people of a State constitute the State;' and to that people I am willing unreservedly to confide its government to-morrow. Only secure to the unchanged Unionists of South Carolina or Mississippi an equality of rights and franchises with her red-handed rebels, and I ask no more. But I protest against putting her Unionists under the feet of her rebels, there to be ground to powder because of their devotion to the National cause in the trying hour, and call that restoring or reconstructing the State.

"Was the like ever suggested before? Did ever a National Government, completely victorious over a formidable and desperate rebellion, do less than put its steadfast, devoted upholders on a par with the assailants of its life? Of all the treason ever heard of, would not a failure to do this be the foulest treachery?"

Quoting Mr. Doolittle's objection to suffrage on the ground that the negroes, if they went to the polls to vote, and did not vote to please the dominant race, *could not vote at all*, H. G. remarks:

"I beg you only to consider well the fact that Mr. Doolittle proposes to surrender four millions of our loyal countrymen, many thousands of whom have shed their blood for the Union, into the possession and power of our and their enemies, who have murdered not less than one thousand of them since the war was closed, and have never yet brought one of the murderers to justice, and who (Mr. Doolittle says) would never allow them to exercise freely the Right of Suffrage if they possessed it—and who, he proceeds to show, will never let them live at peace in this country, now that they are free. 'O my soul! come thou not into their secret! to their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united!'"

Of the Republican party he says:

"Rely on it, whenever we shall have ceased to impel public opinion in the direction of Justice and Humanity, we shall sink beneath its waves. Of two shams, the People will naturally prefer the older, more systematic, more imposing, more audacious. We can govern only so long as we are nobler, humaner, juster, than our antagonists; and I, for one, rejoice that it is so."

The resolutions of the Democratic Convention in Louisiana, *holding that this Government was made and is to be perpetuated for the exclusive political benefit of the White race; and asking Congress for compensation for losses sustained by the Emancipation policy*, elicit the following significant warning to President Johnson:

"Such is the platform whereon President Johnson is invited to stand, proscribing those who nominated and elected him, and devoting the Government to 'the exclusive political benefit' of those Louisianians who, one year ago, would have given $100,000 for his scalp, while dooming to eternal degradation and serfdom nearly every resident of that State who fought on the side of the Union. Alexander I. of Russia was said to have made his Coronation progress 'with the assassins of his father in front, those of his grandfather on either side, while they who were to be his own assassins brought up the rear.' If Mr. Johnson chooses to be likewise surrounded, what can we do?"

The substance of all which is that the Republican party has no business to exist unless, as a party, it advocates negro suffrage, and that if the President will not go with the party, so much the worse for him. Were that declaration to be acted on courageously and inflexibly, a bright future might speedily dawn on a country now fast relapsing into its old pro-slavery bigotry and subjection.

The *Independent* reinforces Mr. Greeley with a still more unreserved denunciation of the policy which is betraying the party and the country together:

"Standing on the Christian doctrine of Equal Rights—from which, as Christian men, we dare not depart—no, not for all the kingdoms of the world!—we look to see if the Chief Magistrate of a Christian nation is grounding his Administration upon this only sure foundation. Making this inquiry, we regret to be dissatisfied with the present moral attitude of the Government. Exactly so much apprehension, therefore, as this dissatisfaction ought justly to cause, we desire to excite—and to excite in time. Beyond this, God is our witness that we are unwilling critics of a friendly Administration. But the President, after six months' trial, is at last equally claimed as the exponent of each of the great political parties. How, then, can we tell whether he wears blue or gray? The reports from Washington, which purport to speak forth the President's mind and meaning, are so numerous and contradictory that they devour each other like the omnivorous telegrams to the Philadelphia papers during the war. For instance, within the same hour, two distinguished Republicans called at our office, one to say, 'The President is lost, and the Government is Tylerized;' and the other, 'The President is safe, and the Democratic party has the fisherman's net around its gills.' Between these two opinions we are entitled to our own; which is, that a President of the United States who stands in so equivocal a position ought to receive, not the joint praise of the two parties, but the just rebuke of both!

"Meanwhile, whatever shall be the President's final intent, even should he seek to fulfil the best expectations, his half-year's unhappy experiment will pass into the history of lost opportunities. Mr. Johnson has pinched and withered the fairest bud of promise put forth by the Republican party—we mean, the present prospect of Equal Suffrage."

Of the Connecticut election this truthful word is said:

"Now we reiterate what we said last week, that the defeat of Equal Suffrage in Connecticut was due to the whisperings of office-holders in that State that the President was more willing for the defeat of that measure than for its success; and accordingly it was defeated in the interest of a Republican Administration! Consequently, the Springfield *Republican*, of Massachusetts, and the *Evening Post* of this city—representative journals, speaking for many others beside themselves—unite in saying that the Republican party cannot afford to load its back with the burden of Equal Suffrage. Gov. Morton, of Indiana, and Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin say the same thing. A prominent representative of the Federal Government in this city said to us, last week, 'The Republican party has thrown Equal Suffrage *overboard!*' With here and there a brave exception, we suspect the confession is true, that the Republican party, fearing a storm, has cast Negro Suffrage into the sea. How surprised these timid gentlemen all will look when the whale's belly, after three days, shall surrender it back into their hands!"

It is argued with equal truth that, as in Connecticut, so in the Southern States, if the President had wished to secure negro suffrage he might have secured it:

"President Johnson, if he had wished to invest the negro with the citizen's right to the ballot, has had, and still has, *the logical argument, the moral duty, and the political opportunity.* This is the greatest duty which he owes to the Republic: and this duty *will be required at his hands.*"

That there may be no doubt at whose hands it is required, this platform is constructed for the party, and this prophecy announced:

"The Republican party must stand either *for or against* Equal Suffrage. 'Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken'; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder!' If this party refuses to fulfil its moral mission, it will go to pieces in the next Presidential election through the mere decay of its moral forces.

"Already the question is arising whether there shall be a reorganization of politics, with a view to making the next Presidential discussion bear more directly and grandly on those great moral ideas which the present Republican management seems willing to ignore. The necessity for taking such a step will be more or less apparent after the President shall publish a message, and [illegible] inherit a lodgue. But the Republican Congress and [illegible] a body of men who believe in party to-day includes [illegible] and for long to it for no other reason than [illegible] no other interest than their country, that they will not suffer such a party to outrage human rights with impunity. And as these same earnest men have aforetime shaken the nation, they have power to shake it again! If the debasing counsels which we have already heard from certain Republican leaders are to be adopted as the convenient morals of that party, the time is at hand for taking out the sound timber from the house, and leaving the rotten to perish by itself!"

We are sorry to have to add that, judging from the responses of the press to the two articles from which we have quoted, there seems to be more rotten timber than sound.

THE old, old story of swindling the negro must be told again. A dispatch to the *Tribune* says that the regiment of District colored troops, who returned with one battle-flag so mutilated as to scarce determine its character, and nothing but the bare staff of what was their other color remaining, are to be paid only from the passage of the act so authorizing—again ignoring the plain law that the negro troops were entitled to pay irrespective of any statute. In regard to bounty the orders are, first, that each soldier shall prove himself to have been a free negro when he enlisted before he can be paid the bounty at all. Second, that having so proved himself free at the time of enlistment, he shall be paid $100 only, instead of $302 paid to white troops. An effort was made to induce Secretary Stanton to overrule this decision of the paymaster and controller, and do simple justice to these men; but the effort, like so many other efforts to persuade the Secretary of War into decent treatment of the colored troops, failed utterly. The Government seems inexorably deaf to all claims in their behalf, and we must presume that the same policy is to be pursued toward the regiments yet to be mustered out.

THE present state of the controversy in Washington touching the colored schools, is thus described by a correspondent of the N. Y. *Tribune*:

"Saturday last, Oct. 7, Mayor Wallach, of this city, notified the Trustees of the Colored Schools by letter, that he was ready to pay whatever was due them, and at the same time asking if either of them was the author of an article in the New York *Tribune*, stating that he was ready to pay over $1,000.

"The Trustees declined to answer officially, but stated privately that they knew nothing of the article until their attention was called to it by the Mayor himself. The Mayor then refused to pay over the money promised until the question had been answered. He has since changed his mind, and yesterday paid them $8,000; whereupon A. G. Riddle, one of the best lawyers of this city brought a suit against him for $12,000, the balance still due."

There is no doubt whatever of the entire illegality of Mayor Wallach's course, and we trust there is to be no slackening in the effort to compel him to pay the money due the colored schools. His refusal is sheer malice, and if the Trustees knew Wallach as well as we know him, they would have found means to bring him to terms before this.

THE Richmond *Whig*, in an editorial on the recent elections, says:

"The success of the so-called Republican party in Pennsylvania and Ohio appears to us to be a matter of the least possible consequence, except to the candidates themselves. When Congress meets, and the policy of the President comes before it for practical action, we expect to see Republicans, Union men, Democrats, and Whigs sustaining him. The Radicals will stand off and will constitute the anti-Administration party. All moderate and patriotic men will come together, necessarily, into an Administration party, and it will make no difference by what name they may have been known heretofore.

The "moderate and patriotic men" being the Southern Democrats who fought for slavery in the field and the Northern Democrats who fought for it by opposing the war and seeking to betray the country at home. Together they will make a model "Administration party," and afford to Andrew Johnson the support he seems to covet.

HENRY WILSON'S canvass in New York elicits the following from "Warrington:"

"Senator Wilson has gone to New York, where he takes the stump. I asked him which ticket he was for, and he said the Republican. If he could wake up tomorrow morning and find that the two parties had changed tickets, as they might well enough, for one is as much Republican and as much Democratic as the other, he would ask which had the party imprint on it, and take the stump with that invincible vigor and good nature which ever distinguished him. The New Jersey election is perhaps worth contesting, for if Andrew Johnson goes on as he is now going, slavery, unless prohibited, will be reestablished, not only in fact but in name, before 1868; but there is no issue in New York which justifies spending a word or a dollar in that State. 'Handy dandy, which is the justice and which is the thief?'"

IF the statement of the Charleston *News*, printed in another column, can be believed, the order has already gone forth for the ousting of the freedmen from the Sea Islands of Carolina. That blow which our correspondent two weeks ago, John Pinckney, apprehended, has fallen. Lands set apart for the support and the permanent occupation of the Freedmen, are resumed by the Government, and handed over to their rebel claimants, without one thought of the outraged and destitute loyalists who own them. No way so sure to deserve the favor of the President as to have been a traitor! No claim so scouted as that of a loyalist who has a black skin! No condition so miserable as that of the man who has trusted the pledge of the Government!

GEN. HOWARD.—This officer needs watching. The eagerness with which every concession that he makes to the rebels is explained away is exceedingly suspicious. And those concessions are named legion for they are many. Among all his assistant commissioners perhaps there is one only who is above suspicion and above reproach—Gen. Rufus Saxton. If our estimate of Gen. Howard's character is not erroneous, we would not be surprised to see him supersede Gen. Saxton. It is out of harmony with the Commissioner's recent course to have such a man on his staff of assistants. The colored people believe in Gen. Saxton with an unquestioning faith, and he deserves their confidence without qualification. How, then, can Gen. Howard who is popular with the rebels endure such an officer? We believe it is necessity, not choice, that causes Gen. Saxton to be retained. We shall see.

THE *National Intelligencer* is out with an article urging that the law which prohibits rebel members from entering Congress is unconstitutional. The *Intelligencer* is said to speak for Mr. Johnson in these days—semi-officially, at least. Is this a feeler to see whether it would be safe for Mr. McPherson to put their names on the roll, and so finish up the reconstruction job handsomely out of hand?

ORDERS for the muster out of a very large part of all the colored troops remaining in the army have been issued from Washington. Economy is the pretext; the true reason may be found in the purpose of the President to conciliate the South at any sacrifice.

## *PERSONAL.*

James A. Dix, for many years editor of the Boston *Journal*, died last week Wednesday of consumption. He was a popular and successful editor.

Rev. T. W. Conway, Ass't Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for Louisiana, has been superseded by Gen. Absalom Baird.

Brig.-Gen. Hawley, Gen. Terry's Chief of Staff, has been brevetted Major-General. He deserves the promotion for his soldierly ability not less than for his fidelity to Anti-Slavery principles.

The order mustering out one hundred general officers and all their staffs, which was determined on by Gen. Grant, has not yet been issued from the Adjutant-General's office, but is expected to come out in a few days.

Dr. Wayland appointed as his literary executors Mrs. Wayland and his sons, Judge Francis Wayland and Rev. Prof. H. L. Wayland, and they will at once proceed with the preparation of a memoir of him, and will also provide for the issue of a uniform edition of his complete works.

The king of Saxony, who is among the most eminent expounders and translators of Dante, placed himself at the head of the German Dante society, founded at Dresden on September 14. The object of the society is to publish a Dante annual, to found a Dante library, and to issue a pocket edition of the smaller works of the illustrious poet.

The President has ordered that John A. Campbell, of [illegible] H. Reagan, of Texas; Alexander H. Stephens, of Alabama; John [illegible] Trenholm, of South Carolina; and George [illegible] lately in Fort Warren, be released from custody on giving their respective paroles to appear at such time and place as the President may designate, to answer to any charge that he may direct to be brought against them.

A letter recently received from a Union officer in Georgia states that a man has been met with who claims to have shot Col. Shaw of the Mass. 54th (colored) regiment, and who, moreover, declares that Col. Shaw was not buried, as the Charleston papers stated, with the fallen of his regiment, but was put into a separate grave between two other Union officers. He details the circumstances of the burial, and says he should have no difficulty in going directly to the grave. The information has been transmitted to Col. Shaw's family.

Among the contested seats in the next Congress will be that of James Brooks (of the N. Y. *Express*), who ran against Mr. William E. Dodge in the Fifth avenue district, and was declared elected by a majority of not far from 200 votes. Mr. Dodge claims his own election by about the same majority, and is announced as being disposed to contest Mr. Brooks' seat.

A magnificent Tenth Corps badge has been presented to Maj.-Gen. Alfred Terry by a large number of the officers of the late organization. The badge represents a bastion fort, and in this centre is ornamented by five diamonds in the centre and bastions, the whole surrounded by a laurel wreath of green enamel. It is suspended from a general's baton held in the claws of an eagle, beneath which appear various military symbols, all of solid gold and exquisite workmanship.

This paragraph is taken from a prominent newspaper. It is worth publication as an illustration of the "healthy loyalty" of the South:

"It is reported that Joseph R. Anderson, manager of the Tredegar Iron Works at Richmond, and recently pardoned, has refused to give employment to any mechanics from Virginia who left that State during the rebellion. This is intended to reach Union men, who fled to avoid serving in the rebel armies. Anderson, before he was pardoned, employed in his foundery a number of colored free laborers, and was eloquent in praise of their industry and faithfulness; but that was when he was seeking a pardon. Now he has got it his real sentiments begin to be developed."

The Chicago *Times* asserts that President Johnson has removed Mr. Russell, the postmaster at Davenport, Iowa, because of his advocacy of colored suffrage, both in Iowa and at the South, and has appointed Gen. Saunders in his stead.

Upon this the *Times* says:

"His removal by President Johnson is the beginning of hostilities by the President against Republicanism. It is his first blow against Radical Abolitionism, and the inauguration of a campaign against Abolition fanatics which will not cease until they are exterminated."

Saunders, the appointee, is of the Benton party, and opposed to negro suffrage.

M. Rogeard, the author of that stinging satire on Napoleon III., "Propos de Labienus," has just been expelled from Belgium, whither he fled, or his friends carried him, after its publication, for having written a second offensive work, "Pauvre France," which the Belgian authorities considered "insulting both to the government which sheltered him and to a neighboring friendly nation." In his preface he attacks monarchies in general, and that of France in particular, as being upheld by "the seven scourges of modern society—a standing army, a paid clergy, irremovable magistrates, centralized administration, police, prostitution, and organized pauperism." At the last accounts M. Rogeard was in Germany.

Robert E. Lee subscribed to the amnesty oath on the 2d inst., and it has been filed at the State Department. It reads as follows:

OFFICE OF NOTARY PUBLIC,
ROCKBRIDGE COUNTY, Va., Oct 2, 1865.

I, Robert E. Lee, of Lexington, Va., do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves. So help me God.

(Signed) R. E. LEE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 2d day of October, A. D. 1865.

CHAS. A. DAVIDSON, Notary Public.

He has taken an oath substantially the same at least twice before. If he keeps this any better than the other, it will be simply because a promising opportunity to break it does not occur.

Gen. Banks has succeeded in getting himself nominated for Congress in the sixth district of Massachusetts. His manœuvres to that end showed, it is needless to say, a much higher order of skill than he exhibited at Cedar Mountain or on the Red River. "Warrington" comments on the event with his usual cleverness, as follows:

"He is, indeed, a most remarkable phenomenon. I recall Carlyle's description of Cagliostro, 'A nimbus of renown and preternatural astonishment envelopes him; enchants the general eye. The few reasoning mortals, scattered here and there, that see through him, deafened in the universal hubbub, shut their lips in sorrowful disdain, confident in the grand remedy, time. The enchanter, meanwhile, rolls on his way.' I am persuaded that Gen. Banks actually believes himself to be a great man—possibly a great military man—yes, a great man in every respect. Two Roman augurs, it is said, could not look each other in the face without laughing. Gen. Banks never laughs. Other men, when they have succeeded in humbugging the public, have a pleasant crack over it with their friends; but it comes to him as a matter of course, and all in the way of his duty. If Cedar Mountain and Red River were successes (a fact which I understand is demonstrated by the Charlestown speech and Gooch's whitewashing report) then anything can be proved. Napoleon, contrary to the general belief, won the battle of Waterloo, and Lee, instead of surrendering in Virginia, is now commander-in-chief of the rebel forces and about to besiege New York city. In absolute despair we cry out:

"'Thinking is but an idle waste of thought.
And nought is everything and everything is nought.'"

The Atlanta correspondent of the Indianapolis *State Journal* tells the following story:

On the train here I met a formerly wealthy planter of Calhoun county, Alabama. Here's our conversation, after the preliminary introduction:

*Wealthy Planter*—I was a radical secessionist, and only regret that we did not succeed. Though I was born in Massachusetts, I hate her now, and all her Abolitionists.

*Correspondent*—But you are willing to accept the inexorable logic of events, and try to make the best of a bad job, are you not?

*Planter*—I accept nothing which is wrong. I am a States Rights man, and believe we will yet be successful in obtaining what is justly due us.

*Correspondent*—And what has become of your slaves? Don't you hire them, or contract with them somehow?

*Planter*—My niggers are all on my plantation, and I furnish them as formerly. I shan't hire them nor contract with them. If they want to go and starve, let them go.

*Correspondent*—But how can you get along so?

*Planter*—I don't expect to. I am going to sell my plantation and cotton factory, and buy on the Hudson river, near New York. I am disgusted with what you Abolitionists have done, have no faith in your nigger freedom, your free labor, or nigger equality, and I'll let you try it a while.

He had every appearance of a gentleman of refinement and education (a real *rara avis* in Dixie), and expresses the feeling of many thousands who reside in this and adjoining States.

SPREAD OF THE CHOLERA.—Foreign mails received at the State Department bring additional details relative to the spread of the cholera. The Consul at Constantinople, writing under date of Sept. 18, reports that the disease has almost entirely disappeared from that city. The United States Consul at Port Mahon reports, under date of Sept. 20, that he has trustworthy information from Palma up to and including the 17th of September. The usual population of Palma is 60,000, but on the 17th ult., the population did not exceed 15,000. On that day 137 deaths occurred from cholera. Since then deaths are reported from 150 to 160 per day. The disease at Palma appears in a very aggravated form, and seems to baffle human skill. Reports have reached Port Mahon that the disease is spreading into the interior of Spain. Reports from the Consul at Genoa, Italy, state that but a few cases of cholera have occurred there. Intelligence from the Consul at Marseilles, France, is to the effect that this terrible malady is frightfully on the increase there. Eighty thousand citizens have left the city, and the deaths now average between 50 and 60 per day. Huge bonfires, numbering 1,000 at a time, are burning nightly in the streets, for the purpose of purifying the atmosphere, which has had the desired effect to some extent. It was active at Toulon and Arles, and in other places in Southern France. Some cases had occurred, according to one account, at Montpellier, so famed for its salubrity. Cholera is reported to have appeared at Southampton, England, but the accuracy of the report is questioned. Yellow fever had broken out at Swansea, in Wales. Both these places are large and of much note in commerce.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.—The conductors of three New York journals—the *Herald*, the *World*, and the *Express*—have been notified by the French Consul that their circulation in France will be stopped if they shall not change the views they publish of the Emperor's Mexican policy.

## *LITERARY.*

THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, September, 1865. Leonard Scott & Co's American Reprint.

The *North British* reviews Mr. Carlyle's Frederic at great length, with much learning, and with unmeasured asperity of judgment. Mr. Carlyle is brought by his Scotch fellow-countrymen to sit, whether he will or no, on the stool of repentance, and besought to do penance. Not only for his life of Frederic, but for the general backsliding of which this biography is but one instance, must Carlyle profess contrition, if he would gain favor at the hands of his present reviewer. His style has deteriorated, his morals are gone wholly to the bad. He has corrupted the English tongue, and he has mis-written history. He suppresses, he garbles, he colors, he distorts. The indictment is a sweeping one, but we have a notion the district attorney might be put into the box, were it advisable, to plead to some of the offences which he charges upon his culprit. We do not deem the article an impartial one. It is the tone of the prosecutor, not of the judge, which pervades it. Mr. Carlyle's history of Frederic is open to criticism on many points, but this is not just criticism. Mr. Carlyle receives much the sort of treatment which Jeffrey, which Croker, which Gifford, which Macaulay were wont to bestow on greater men than themselves, when the greater men did not choose to contract their orbits within the complete ken of the critical telescope.

Nevertheless, there are passages in this article of merit enough to bear quoting—those mainly which are not infused with the spirit of criticism. The reviewer chooses to assert that Carlyle omits all notice of the influence of his times on Frederic's career—which is far from being true—and supplies the following outline:

"In the struggle which we know by the name of the Seven Years' War, many forces were at work very different from the ambition of Frederic. The national and political spirit of Germany was moving on the face of the waters. It had slept a deep sleep ever since the death of Gustavus on the field of Lutzen. The old mediæval tendencies towards independence and self-government had been utterly overwhelmed in the Thirty Years' War. A gloomy reign of darkness and terror—of Austria and Popery—had lasted for some hundred years. But the time had now come, though the fulness of time was not yet. The league formed against Frederic, which Pitt, with pardonable exaggeration, styled 'the most powerful and malignant confederacy that ever yet has threatened the independence of mankind,' roused, to some extent, that independence which it menaced. Despite the blind of the accession of Sweden, it was universally felt to be a league of Catholics against Protestantism, and the spirit of the sixteenth century swelled high in favor of the successor of the "Lion of the North." Clement XIII. did Frederic an invaluable service when he sent a sword and a velvet hat, and a dove of pearls, enriched with his pontifical benediction, to Marshal Daun. It was a struggle, too, of despotism against liberty. Austria, the overthrower of the Hanseatic cities, the destroyer of Bohemia, the violator of the Constitution of Hungary and the Lower Countries, could never be regarded as other than the bitter foe of freedom and of German nationality. In every way it was a contest between darkness and light, for the awakening mind of Germany was naturally on the side of German independence. Thus all the stars in their courses fought for Frederic. In his behalf—

knowledge the importance of this watchful care which gathered up and carefully stored away matters which at the time seemed trivial, but which with the lapse of years increased in value. Files of old papers, immense piles of manuscript, bound and unbound, order books of Revolutionary commanders, works on slavery, upon the war of 1812 and the Mexican war, and also works relating to British America, have been collected and preserved with great care and fidelity. Labors of such a nature would be distasteful to most people, but are of obvious importance, and that is a fortunate dispensation which at rare intervals bestows on some one the tastes and persevering industry for so irksome a task. The Historical Society of New York have made for some time an offer of $50,000 for the collection, which has been recently accepted.

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"GRUB STREET" was new-named "Milton Street," to get rid of disagreeable associations, not to honor our great epic poet, who never dwelt in it. In Paris the "Rue des Ecuries d'Artois" is in future to be called the "Rue Alfred de Vigny," who lived there for forty years, to render homage to the poet's memory, and hand down to posterity the spot upon which he resided. Sir Isaac Newton's house in St. Martin's Street is falling to decay; Sir Joshua Reynolds' is an auction room; Hogarth's has disappeared too; and Mrs. Moore, the widow of the poet, the "Bessie" of his verse, died on the 4th instant at Sloperton Cottage, a residence endeared to him in his lifetime by many painful and pleasant recollections.

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THE people's edition of Mr. Mill's works is very cheap, says the London *Reader;* but it deserves to be universally known that it could not have been so cheap as it is, had not the author voluntarily given up all the profits of its sale.

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## ANOTHER CARD FROM MR. M. F. CONWAY.

RICHMOND, Oct. 13, 1865.

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

SIR,—I have read your comments on my note published in your paper of the 7th inst. Permit me a brief rejoinder. Writing to a newspaper is like dram-drinking—one act of indulgence provokes an irritation which can only be relieved by another.

You charge me with "apostasy," and speak of me as "an anti-slavery man *of other days.*" This denunciation results, it seems, from (1.) my having gone to Richmond to reside; (2.) my acting as counsel for rebel applicants for pardon; (3.) my having written a letter to Senator Doolittle in support of President Johnson's course of action in the lately rebellious States.

Now, I am yet to learn that an anti-slavery spirit, or purpose, or principle, is necessarily dependent for its existence on any geographical locality, either that of Kansas, or Boston, or New York; seeing that I was an anti-slavery man in spirit, purpose, and principle, while yet resident in my native city of Baltimore, twelve or fifteen years ago, before I ever saw either Kansas, Boston, or New York.

My education is also quite as deficient with respect to that code of morals which identifies the principles of an employé with those of his employer's, or requires a lawyer to renounce the teachings of virtue in becoming the counsel of a person charged with crime.

With regard to my support of the President's course, it involves no abandonment of any principle ever held or professed by me; but, on the contrary, is in perfect harmony with my entire system of thought and action from the beginning. I refer you to the very letter of which you speak—that to Senator Doolittle—which I find, though many of my friends are ready to condemn, they are not so ready to let see the light of day through the newspaper columns they control. I refer you to this letter, and ask you to publish it. I send you a copy. My position in this letter is that, the war having terminated—not in the independence of the Confederate States, nor in their conquest, but in the restoration over them of the authority of the General Government, on the terms of the Constitution—we have no power to enact a law of suffrage for those States, any more than we have to enact such a law for the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. By the fundamental ordinance of the nation we were precluded from doing anything of the kind.

With regard to the question of suffrage, we are precisely where we would have been in regard to the question of slavery itself, if that institution had not been destroyed before the termination of the war.

In short, we are within the sphere of the Constitutional system of the Union, sought to be broken by the rebellion, but preserved in its integrity, after years of bloody conflict. The defeat of the rebellion implies the maintenance of the Union, as the object of the one was but the overthrow of the other.

It is, therefore, not with respect to slavery, nor with respect to negro suffrage, nor the negro in any of his relations, that I have expressed any dissent whatever from the views entertained by the STANDARD or any of its friends; but simply with regard to the power of Congress, or the President, or the General Government, in any or all of its departments, to legislate for the States on a subject which the Constitution has left to the exclusive action of the States themselves.

What "apostasy" is there in this? And what warrant is there for your extraordinary assertion that I have *abandoned my principles for the sake of a career at Richmond?*

This is the first occasion of such an accusation ever being preferred against me, though in my public career I have differed frequently and widely from many; and more than once from *all* my political friends. I have not thought it necessary to seek to allay suspicion against my integrity, by turning to the right hand or the left, or measuring my gait, or cut of waistcoat, or the particular form or phrase of my speech. I scorn these petty tricks of a guilty soul; and if the editor of the STANDARD can prove me a miscreant and a traitor by the circumstances of my removal to Richmond and retention as counsel by persons accused of offences against the laws, and the like, he is welcome to do it. I am content to rest in the consciousness of my integrity—true to the *system* which God has revealed to my understanding for my own guidance, in the strife and chaos of contending vagaries, notions, plans, and schemes, of one kind and another—honest and dishonest—which prevail around me. M. F. CONWAY.

As Mr. Conway conaiders himself injured by our comments, we print the whole of his note, though its discourteous tone might excuse us for putting it in the basket. His letter to Mr. Doolittle is much too long to print, and would have to go, if anywhere, into the Pro-Slavery columns. We do not perceive that it contains any thing of importance which Mr. Conway has not already stated in his notes to us fully enough to qualify the public to judge of the merits of his defence.

That Mr. Conway avoids the real charge against him, and misrepresents the grounds on which it is put, will be evident to whoever has read our comments and his notes. We should have been glad if he could have cleared himself, but this letter, like the other, convicts him of abandoning the cause of the negro in the hour of its utmost need.

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SOUTHERN PATRIOTISM.—The chief medical officer of the Freedmen's Bureau for Alabama, in writing to the Bureau here for additional medical assistance for the freedmen of that State, says that a number of Alabama physicians have notified him that they will give their assistance for the moderate salary of $1,000 per month. The offer has been declined.

MASSACHUSETTS AS A TAX PAYER.—We do not hear much of late about leaving New England out in the cold, and we shall not be likely to so long as she continues to furnish revenue to the Government at the rate of nearly fifty millions a year, or, to give the exact figures for the year ending July 1, $47,552,560. Massachusetts paid nearly two-thirds of the whole amount, $28,752,835.

LABOR AND CROPS.—In Georgia and the Carolinas many planters say they must part with their late slaves at the close of the year, because they shall not have the means of feeding them. It will be as much as they shall have it in their power to do to support their families until their next crops shall be harvested. But how are they to "make crops," if they will not employ laborers?

COLORED GARRISONS.—All forts south of Fortress Monroe, except Forts Jefferson and Taylor, in Florida, are to be garrisoned by colored troops. These garrisons will be composed of all the colored men who shall be retained in the national army.

DUBIOUS LOYALTY.—The war being ended, the Smithsonian Institute has hung out a United States flag. As long as the contest was doubtful the officers of that institution steadily omitted to allow the Stars and Stripes to float over their grounds.

OLD-SCHOOL PRESBYTERIANS IN ST. LOUIS.—The following "first-rate notice" is by the St. Louis correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune:*

"The biggest lot of traitors assembled in this State since the surrender of Jeff. Thompson's army, constitutes the Old-School Presbyterian Synod now in session in this city. Not satisfied with electing a man for Moderator who was expelled last session for disloyalty, they have amended the record of last year so as to show the expulsion as meritorious, and then debated a proposition which was introduced by the infamous S. J. P. Anderson, and had the sanction of ex-Attorney-General Bates, proposing to amend last year's records entirely. It was carried by a nine-tenths vote."

## IMPEACHING THE PRESIDENT.

A CORRESPONDENT of the STANDARD suggested sometime since, the impeachment of the President for mal-administration. The clamor raised by the proposal has not wholly subsided yet. Were there any other mode of reaching him, impeachment need not be named; but that something effective should be done, becomes every day more and more apparent. His whole plan of Reconstruction is an outrage on the very name of justice and right. The Presidential pardons too are an insulting burlesque on the name of government and law. When before were pardons ever poured out by thousands, to men innocent or guilty, without even a form of trial? Not a rebel, red as he may be with human blood, is in the least humiliated by such a pardon. He can claim privilege and prerogative, with as brazen a front as before. His appointment to office, and his restoration of still rampant rebels to their immense landed and other property, and to all civil, political, and personal rights, are a most daring repeal of the Acts of Congress. His treatment of the white Southern delegations who crowd in upon him, his adulations of them as a sublimely virtuous body of men, representing millions of people equally so, his eulogies of "*their ancient instincts of frankness, and manly honor,*" prove that he is in sympathy with the rebels. And now he has offered the wretch who solicited in his newspaper a million dollars for the assassination of President Lincoln, out of the hands of military authority, and sent him down to Alabama, to be tried before such a civil court and jury as that still defiant horde of rebels will give him. Meanwhile, the universal cry still is stand by the President—support the present plan of reconstruction. The colored man and his cause, especially his right of suffrage, must be indefinitely postponed. And so we seem rapidly drifting to a crisis where a John Brown or a Toussaint L'Ouverture must be the forlorn hope of salvation if even a remnant of the nation shall be saved.

## THE UNIONBUND.

THE General Committee of the *Unionbund* of New York has sent the following address for ratification to the German Union Leagues of the different Assembly Districts of that City:

THE SYRACUSE PLATFORM AND THE STATE ELECTION.—AN ADDRESS OF THE UNIONBUND OF NEW YORK TO THE LIBERAL GERMAN-AMERICANS.

After a cruel war of four years and a dearly bought victory the nation is now called upon to pronounce on the following momentous questions:

Shall the Union be reconstructed by Congress, the representation of the victorious nation, on the basis of equal rights for *all* citizens? Or,

Shall the President be allowed, by carrying out his pernicious plan, to open the gates of the Union for the reception of the Rebel States with their oppressive aristocracy preserved, and with a disfranchised and landless laboring class? Shall the defeated South, as an exultant and malicious conqueror, enter the Union saved by the death of so many thousands of loyal men; shall those words, "*Our Southern Rights,*" thrown insultingly and unrebuked into the face of the President, become the device of a new battle-flag of the South?

Will the nation make use of the dearly bought victory to uproot completely the cause of all unity, and to secure forever the peace and the welfare of the Republic? Or,

Shall a treacherous compromise enable the defeated foe to become again the master, and in future time once more the destroyer of the Union?

President Johnson has now for six months exercised an uncontrolled power; his policy is well defined, and the situation of the country is manifest

Every thoughtful citizen knows that ne has to say *yes* or *no* to the questions: Shall the emphatically expressed will of the President become the law through which the Union is to be restored?

The Convention of Syracuse, exhibiting a courtier-like submissiveness and flattery, has shouted *yes!*

But we believe that the resolutions of that Convention do not express the convictions of the majority of the citizens composing the Union party. We believe that the well-known cunning of certain leaders took hold of the unprincipled and weak, in order to turn the Union party into an instrument of a pernicious policy.

Will now the liberal and independent citizens acknowledge the Syracuse platform as the expression of their convictions and their demands, and give it their assent?

*The Unionbund, faithful to its principles, as declared in its manifesto, rejects with indignation the Syracuse platform, and declares openly and positively that it will not participate in the elections which will take place on this basis in the month of November.*

The Unionbund places itself under the banner borne by young Minnesota, energetic and honest, and by Massachusetts, the glorious old leader in the combat for liberty and justice.

At the present moment, when the destinies of the Republic will be decided, it is the sacred duty of every citizen to listen only to the commands of his conscience and not to give, on account of party considerations, a vote in favor of a policy condemned by his convictions.

The Unionbund fulfils this duty with the consciousness that in this frank declaration of its views and its resolutions, it answers to the sentiments and intentions of the great majority of the liberal and independent German-Americans.

The people must make a protest against the submission to the will of the President so anti-Republican, and so shamefully preached at the present time.

A protest against the devotion from the glorious spirit of the nation so glowingly manifested immediately after the death of our Martyr President—a protest against the cunning politicians who have chilled that spirit into apathy—a protest against the demoralization of political life by the taking of a banner which is that of the adversary.

If the policy of the President becomes victorious by the help of the Union party, not only the great cause of the regeneration of the Union will be lost, but also the true essence of Republicanism must perish.

The President, instead of being the executor of the national will, will be master and ruler in the State—a monarch as absolute as any crowned head of Europe.

Let us, therefore, protest against the danger prepared for the Republic—let us not participate in the elections which will take place under a banner betraying our principles.

The Central Committee. FR. SCHUETZ, President.
Dr. H. GULECK, C. SUTHER, } Secretaries.
New York, Oct. 6, 1865.

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ENGLISH ELECTIONEERING.—The London *Spectator* supplies its readers with the following statement of expenses incurred by Mr. Hughes (Tom Brown) in the contest which resulted in his election to Parliament for Lambeth:

| | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| Returning officer | 138 | 15 | 6 |
| Agency clerks, messengers, etc. | 217 | 16 | 0 |
| Printing and stationery | 251 | 0 | 10 |
| Bill sticking | 78 | 3 | 0 |
| Postage and letter delivery | 77 | 8 | 3 |
| Advertising | 63 | 2 | 6 |
| Rent of committee-rooms, etc. | 80 | 4 | 9 |
| Rent of rooms for public meetings, etc. | 28 | 1 | 4 |
| Cab-hire prior to polling-day | 18 | 0 | 0 |
| Cabs, couriers, inspectors, and check clerks on the day of polling | 155 | 8 | 1 |
| Total | £1,108 | 0 | 5 |

Something over $5,000 in all. Yet Mr. Hughes refused to spend any money for "illegitimate" purposes, and the *Spectator* remarks "that in so far as these items are exceptional at all, they are so by their smallness," and adds: "We may therefore regard Mr. Hughes's expenditure as the very minimum requisite for representing a London borough constituency."

COTTON AND CORN IN MISSISSIPPI.—A letter from Mississippi says very little cotton was planted this year, perhaps not enough to make seed for another crop. Memphis will hardly be furnished with 50,000 bales next winter from all sources. The excessive drouth has diminished the corn crop, in many of the richest districts, nearly one-half. There will, however, be corn enough for home consumption.

THE FREEDMEN.—A large meeting was held in the Academy of Music in Philadelphia, Wednesday evening, for the purpose of starting an organization on the basis and plan of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, for the care and supervision of the moral needs of the freedmen of the South. Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio presided, and speeches were made by Rev. Dr. Bellows, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, and William Lloyd Garrison. It is proposed to raise $100,000 for the education of the freedmen.

SOUTHERN POSTAL ARREARS.—The Government is now drawing on all Southern postmasters for balances due prior to the rebellion. Drafts have been drawn on all the offices in the Southern States whose postmasters are appointed by the President, amounting to $157,467 68. Virginia is more indebted than any other State, her deficiency being $29,190 18. The Department is now drawing on all the remaining offices whose indebtedness is one hundred dollars or over. If the drafts are not paid, suits are at once instituted.

## THE SOUTH AND THE NEGROES.

### MISSISSIPPI.

THE ELECTION.

THE Jackson papers of October 4, print some partial returns of the election in that State. There is no doubt, however, of the election of Gen. Humphreys for Governor by a large majority.

The Jackson (Miss.) *News*, October 4, says:

We have received only partial returns from the State elections. As far as heard from, Gen. Humphreys is running well. Fisher will have to carry the North and East by large majorities to secure his election.

The most important of all questions before the people here has been decided *in favor of the party opposed to negro testimony.*" Hawkins, Mount, and Holmes, candidates for State Senator, were opposed to negro testimony, and their combined vote over Freeman, who endorsed the position of Gov. Sharkey, will probably reach six to one. The returns indicate the election of Hawkins by a decided majority over Freeman.

Just as we anticipated, *the people are determined to crush out any man who favors the equality of the negro before the judicial tribunals,* or who believes that the convention by its action made the negro a competent witness. The people have ceased to be frightened by the oft repeated twaddle of the necessity of sacrificing their rights inch by inch in order to get a representation in Congress. What good will a representation do when all our rights are gone?

Let timid stateemen beware! It matters not how high they may now stand in the estimation of the people, *if they steer toward the rock of negro testimony they will be shivered into atoms.* This privilege must not be allowed them as a class—the negroes must be excluded. *The white men of the country will never consent to hazard their necks or their property by admitting the enlightened (?) testimony of the negro.*

Up to this writing all goes well.

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The Washington *Republican* says that the Mississippi State Convention adopted three ordinances, one of which denies the negroes the right to testify against whites, either in civil or criminal trials. Another withholds from them the privilege of bringing suits against the whites. A third decrees that all blacks who are not in regular employment *shall be considered vagrants and sold to labor by the State.* A prominent Louisiana gentleman, intimately acquainted with the politics of Mississippi, has stated his belief that there is a deliberate design to re-establish slavery in that State, to be followed by a like attempt in Louisiana. It would certainly require no great stretch of imagination to infer such a nefarious purpose from the above action of the Mississippi Convention.

### KENTUCKY.

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU IN KENTUCKY.

The Louisville *Journal* published a dispatch from Washington, a day or two ago, stating that "Gen. Rousseau was making strong efforts at the capital to have the Freedmen's Bureau removed from Kentucky's holy soil, and that the agents of the said bureau were annoying the people to the utmost, and interfering in matters that did not belong to their jurisdiction."

To this it is only necessary to say that there are no agencies of the Freedmen's Bureau in operation on "Kentucky's holy soil." The only agency that ever existed in Kentucky was in Paducah, and that was long since suspended, the Assistant Commissioner, Lieut.-Col. York, having been instructed to cease operations until it could be ascertained how the Government at Washington wished the negroes in that State to be treated. Gen. Fisk said, in his letter of inquiry on that matter, that if the Kentucky negroes were to be considered as slaves he had nothing to do with them, as he had been placed in charge of a "freedmen's" not a "slaves'" bureau. Pending an answer from the Administration to his pertinent question, Gen. Fisk still keeps the Paducah agency suspended, and has taken no steps whatever to establish the bureau in other parts of the State.—*Chicago Republican.*

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A large audience of colored people was addressed at Louisville on the 14th by Dr. Massey of London, Agent of the British Aid Society; Levy Coffin of Cincinnati, Agent of the Freedmen's American Aid Society, and by Gen. Brisbin. The British Aid Society have already raised £40,000 for the American freedmen, and Massey comes to ascertain what further aid our freedmen require from England. The Kentucky Presbyterian Synod is now in session at Louisville.

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The President, by proclamation dated October 12, has abolished martial law in Kentucky. He has ordered the removal of all the colored troops from the State, and keeps *Gen. Palmer in command.*

But the abolition of martial law in Kentucky does not serve to remove existing troubles. The authority given by Gen. Palmer to all negroes to go whither they desire in order to find employment, no matter whether they were made free by virtue of service in the army, rebellious masters, or by any other cause, is still the source of trouble. The State courts deny the validity of this action, and as they still recognize the institution of slavery as existing in the State, are enforcing the laws which prevent employers from hiring slaves without the consent of their masters. Innumerable law suits are the consequence; while those who wish to procure labor, deprived of their own negroes by military authority, are prevented from hiring others by civil authority, and the freedmen roam the country or congregate in camps. As the negroes thus freed cannot by any possibility be re-enslaved, the only solution of the matter is to suspend the action of the State courts until the Legislature, which meets in November, can pass the Constitutional Amendment. Kentucky is the greatest sufferer in the South from the hide-bound tenacity with which she clings to the institution.

### LOUISIANA.

OPINION ON THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU—REGISTRATION OF VOTERS IN NEW ORLEANS.

NEW ORLEANS, Saturday, Oct. 14, 1865.

Mr. Waterson, the special agent of the Government, sent to inquire into the condition of Southern affairs, left yesterday afternoon, after a short stay. It is understood that his opinion of the Freedmen's Bureau is that it is an unnecessary burden to the Government.

The Provost-Marshal has ordered an inspection of the city registered voters, with a view to strike from the rolls the names of a certain portion charged with acts of disloyalty antecedent to the President's Amnesty proclamation, and of those who in 1862 registered themselves enemies of the United States. This would strike off a fifth of the registered voters of the city. Gov. Wells protests against this as an interference with an established State law. If the Provost-Marshal persists, Gov. Wells will appeal to the President.

### NORTH CAROLINA.

The following is the address of the Colored Convention of North Carolina, referred to last week:

*To the Constitutional Convention of North Carolina and Legislature to assemble thereafter:*

Assembled as delegates from different portions of the State of North Carolina and representing a large body of the colored population, therefore we most respectfully and humbly beg leave to represent to you, and through you to the people of the State, something of our situation and our wants as a people.

Earnestly disclaiming all wish to forestall your action or to dictate in the solemn and important duties which have been intrusted to you, at this most critical period, and confiding in your justice, wisdom, and patriotism, to guard the interests of all classes, and more particularly of that class, which being more helpless will most need your just and kind consideration; they but exercise the right guaranteed to the humblest citizen in this their petition.

It is with reverent and grateful acknowledgment of the Divine power and interposition, that we accept the precious boon of freedom. Resulting as it has from a prolonged and sanguinary struggle between two great powers, and finally decreed by the national will, we look forward with confidence to see the decree ratified by the whole people of the State.

Though it was impossible for us to remain indifferent spectators of such a struggle, you will do us the justice to admit that we have remained throughout obedient and passive, acting such part only as has been assigned us, and calmly waiting upon Providence. Our brethren have fought on the side of the Union, while we have been obliged to serve in the camp, to build fortifications, and raise subsistence for the Confederate army. Do you blame us that we have, meantime, prayed for the freedom of our race?

Just emerging from bondage, under which our race has groaned for two hundred and fifty years, and suffering from its consequent degradation, we are fully conscious that we posses no power to control legislation in our behalf, and that we must depend wholly upon moral appeal to the hearts and consciences of the people of our State.

Born upon the same soil, and brought up in an intimacy of relationship unknown to any other state of society, we have formed attachments for the white race which must be as enduring as life, and we can conceive of no reason that our God-bestowed freedom should now sever the kindly ties which have so long united us,

Filled with gratitude to God for his great blessings, we would bury in oblivion the wrongs of the past, and wish to become more united, as well as more useful and honorable in our sphere of life.

We are fully conscious that we cannot long expect the presence of Government agents, or of the troops to secure us against evil treatment from unreasonable prejudice, and unjust men, yet we have no desire to look abroad for protection and sympathy. We know we must find both at home and among the people of our own State, and merit them by our industry, sobriety, and respectful demeanor, or suffer long and grievous evils. We acknowledge with gratitude that there are those among former slave masters who have promptly conceded our freedom, and have manifested a just and humane disposition toward their former slaves. We think no such persons, or very few at least, have lost their working hands by desertion. At the same time it must be known to you that many planters have either kept the freedman in doubt; have wholly denied his freedom, or have grudgingly conceded it, and while doing so have expelled his family from the plantations which they may have cleared and enriched by their toil through long and weary years. Some have withheld a just compensation, or have awarded such pay as would not support the laborer and his family. Others have driven their hands away without any pay at all, or even a share of the crops they have raised. Women with families of children, whose husbands have been sold, have died, or have wrongfully deserted hem, have in some cases been driven away from the homes where, under slavery, they have spent a lifetime of hard service. Is it just or Christian thus to thrust out upon the cold world helpless families to perish? These grosser forms of evil we believe will correct themselves under wise and humane legislation, but we do most respectfully urge that some suitable measures may be adopted to prevent unscrupulous and avaricious employers from the practice of these and other similar acts of injustice toward our people.

Our first and engrossing concern in our new relation is, how we may provide shelter and an honorable subsistence for ourselves and families. You will say work; but without your just and considerate aid how shall we secure adequate compensation for our labor? If the friendly relations which we so much desire shall prevail, must there not be mutual co-operation? As our longer degradation cannot add to your comfort, make us more obedient as servants, or more useful as citizens, will you not aid us by wise and just legislation to elevate ourselves?

We desire education for our children, that they may be made useful in all the relations of life. We most earnestly desire to have the disabilities under which we formerly labored removed, and to have all the oppressive laws which make unjust discriminations on account of race or color wiped from the statutes of the State. We invoke your protection for the sanctity of our family relations. Is this asking too much? We most respectfully and earnestly pray that some provision may be made for the care of the great number of orphan children and the helpless and infirm, who, by the new order of affairs, will be thrown upon the world without protection. Also that you will favor, by some timely and wise measures, the reunion of families which have long been broken up by war or by the operations of slavery.

Though associated with many memories of suffering, as well as of enjoyment, we have always loved our homes, and dreaded, as the worst of evils, a forcible separation from them. Now that freedom and a new career are before us, we love this land and people more than ever before. Here we have toiled and suffered; our parents, wives, and children are buried here; and in this land we will remain unless forcibly driven away.

Finally, praying for such encouragement to our industry, as the proper regulation of the hours of labor and the providing of the means of protection against rapacious and cruel employers, and for the collection of just claims, we commit our cause into your hands, invoking heaven's choicest blessings upon your deliberations and upon the State.

J. H. HARRIS, Chairman.
JOHN R. GOOD,
GEO. A. RUE,
ISHAM SWETT,
J. RANDOLPH, Jr., Com'ttee.

The North Carolina Convention has not yet concluded its work, and is expected to be in session for some days. On the 14th the members were still engaged in the discussion over the State debt incurred in aid of the Rebellion. A resolution requesting the President to remove the colored troops from the State was adopted.

### SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE SEA-ISLAND PLANTATIONS TO BE RESTORED TO THEIR OWNERS.

The Charleston *News*, Oct. 12, has the following important statement:

Julian Mitchell, Esq., of this city, left here some time since, on an important mission to Washington City, in reference to the recovery and speedy restoration to the owners of the valuable lands on our Sea Islands. These lands, comprising the finest Sea Island Cotton soil in the world, have been, as most of our readers know, in possession of the Freedmen's Bureau, and it was for the purpose of getting them out of that institution, and to enable the owners to get possession of their property and go to work, that induced Mr. Mitchell to undertake the task.

William Whaley, Esq., law-partner of Mr. Mitchell, yesterday received advices that the efforts for restoring the property had been completely successful, and that after repeated and anxious interviews with the President and Secretary of War, Mr. Mitchell had succeeded in procuring a general order for the restoration of the lands to their respective owners.

In pursuance of these orders, Gen. Howard will shortly visit Charleston, to make a formal surrender of them.

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## *PRESIDENT JOHNSON TO A COLORED REGIMENT.*

THE 18th U. S. Colored Regiment was addressed in Washington last week by the President as follows:

MY FRIENDS: My object in presenting myself before you on this occasion is simply to thank you, members of one of the colored regiments which has been in the service of the country to sustain and carry its banner and its laws triumphantly in every part of this broad land. I repeat that I appear before you on the present occasion merely to tender you my thanks for the compliment you have paid me on your return home, to again be associated with your friends and your relations, and those you hold most sacred and dear. I repeat I have but little to say, it being unusual in this Government and in most of the other governments to have colored troops engaged in their cause. You have gone forth, as events have shown, and served with patience and endurance in the cause of your country. This is your country as well as anybody else's country. (Cheers.) This is the country in which you expect to live, and in which you should expect to do something by your example in civil life, as you have done in the field. This country is founded upon the principles of equality—and at the same time the standard by which persons are to be estimated is according to their merit and their worth. And you have observed, no doubt, that for him who does his duty faithfully and honestly, there is always a just public judgment that will appreciate and measure out to him his proper reward.

I know that there is much well calculated in this Government, and since the late rebellion commenced, to excite the white against the black, and the black against the white man. These are things that you should all understand, and at the same time prepare yourselves for what is before you. Upon the return of peace and the surrender of the enemies of the country, it should be the duty of every patriot and every one who calls himself a Christian to remember that with a termination of the war his resentments should cease—that angry feelings should subside, and that every man should become calm and tranquil, and be prepared for what is before him.

This is another part of your mission. You have been engaged in the effort to sustain your country in the past, but the future is more important to you than the period in which you have just been engaged. One great question has been settled in this Government, and that is the question of slavery. The institution of slavery made war upon the United States, and the United States has lifted its strong arms in vindication of the Government and of free government, and in lifting that arm and appealing to the God of battles, it has been decided that the institution of slavery must go down. (Cheers.) This has been done and the Goddess of Liberty, in bearing witness over many of our battle-fields since the struggle commenced, has made her loftiest flight and proclaimed that true liberty has been established upon a more permanent and enduring basis than heretofore. (Applause.) But this is not all; and as you have paid me the compliment to call upon me, I shall take the privilege of saying one or two words as I am before you. I repeat that it is not all.

Now, when the sword is returned to its scabbard, when your arms are reversed, and when the olive branch of peace is extended, as I remarked before, resentment and revenge should subside. Then what is to follow? You do understand, no doubt, and if you do not you cannot understand too soon, that simple liberty does not mean the privilege of going into the battle-field, or into the service of the country as a soldier—it means other things as well; and now when you have laid down your arms there are other objects of equal importance before you, now that the Government has triumphantly passed through this mighty rebellion, after the most gigantic battles the world ever saw.

The problem is before you, and it is best that you should understand it; and I, therefore, speak simply and plainly. Will you now, when you have retired from the army of the United States and taken the position of the citizen—when you have returned to the avocations of peace—will you give evidence to the world that you are capable and competent to govern yourselves? This is what you will have to do.

Liberty is not a mere idea, a mere vagary; it is an idea, or it is a reality; and, when you come to examine this question of liberty, you should not be mistaken in a mere idea for the reality. It does not consist in idleness; liberty does not consist in being worthless; liberty does not consist in doing in all things as we please; and there can be no liberty without law. In a government of freedom and of liberty there must be law, and there must be obedience and submission to the law, without regard to color. (Cheers.) Liberty—and may I not call you my countrymen?—liberty consists in the glorious privilege of freedom—consists in the glorious privilege of working—of pursuing the ordinary avocations of peace with energy, with industry, and with economy—and that being done, all those who have been industrious and economical are permitted to appropriate and enjoy the products of their own labor. (Cheers.) This is one of the great blessings of freedom; and hence we might ask the question and answer it by stating that liberty means freedom to work and enjoy the products of your own labor.

You will soon be mustered out of the ranks. It is for you to establish the great fact that you are fit and qualified to be free. Hence, freedom is not a mere idea, but it is something that exists in fact. Freedom is not simply the privilege to live in idleness. Liberty does not mean simply to resort to the low saloons and other places of disreputable character. Freedom and liberty do not mean that the people ought to live in licentiousness, but liberty means simply to be industrious, to be virtuous, to be upright in all our dealings and relations with men; and to those now before me, members of the 1st regiment of colored volunteers from the District of Columbia, and the Capital of the United States, I have to say, that a great deal depends upon yourselves; you must give evidence that you are competent for the rights that the Government has guaranteed to you.

Hence, each and all of you must be measured according to his merit. If one man is more meritorious than the other, they cannot be equals, and he is the most exalted that is the most meritorious, without regard to color; and the idea of having a law passed in the morning that will make a white man a black man before night and a black man a white man before day is absurd. That is not the standard; it is your own conduct; it is your own merit; it is the development of your own talents and of your own intellectual and moral qualities.

Let this, then, be your course; adopt systems of morality; abstain from all licentiousness; and let me say one thing here, for I am going to talk plainly. I have lived in a Southern State all my life, and know what has too often been the case. There is one thing you should esteem higher and more supreme than almost all others, and that is the solemn contract with all the penalties in the association of married life. Men and women should abstain from those qualities and habits that too frequently follow a war. Inculcate among your children and among your associates, notwithstanding you are just back from the army of the United States, that virtue, that merit, that intelligence are the standards to be observed, and those which you are determined to maintain during your future lives. This is the way to make white men black and black men white. (Cheers.) He that is most meritorious and virtuous, intellectual, and well informed, must stand highest, without regard to color. It is the very basis upon which Heaven rests itself—each individual takes his degree in the sublimer and more exalted regions in proportion to his merits and his virtue.

Then I shall say to you on this occasion, in returning to your homes and firesides, after feeling conscious and proud of having faithfully done your duty, return with the determination that you will perform your duty in the future as you have performed it in the past. Abstain from all those bickerings and jealousies and revengeful feelings which too often spring up between different races.

There is a great problem before us, and I may as well allude to it here in this connection, and that is, whether this race can be incorporated and mixed with the people of the United States—to be made a harmonious and permanent ingredient in the population. This is a problem not yet settled, but we are in the right line to do so. Slavery raised its head against the Government, and the Government raised its strong arm and struck it to the ground; hence, that part of the problem is settled. The institution of slavery is overthrown. But another part remains to be solved, and that is, can four millions of people, reared as they have been, with all their prejudices of the whites—can they take their places in the community, and be made to work harmoniously and congruously in our system? This is a problem to be considered. Are the digestive powers of the American Government sufficient to receive this element in a new shape, and digest it and make it work healthfully upon the system that has incorporated it?

This is the question to be determined. Let us make the experiment, and make it in good faith. If that cannot be done, there is another problem that is before us. If we have to become a separate and distinct people (although I trust that the system can be made to work harmoniously, and that the great problem will be settled without going any further)—if it should be so that the two races cannot agree and live in peace and prosperity, and the laws of Providence require that they should be separated, in that event, looking to the far-distant future, and trusting to God that it may never come, if it should come, Providence, that works mysteriously, but unerringly and certainly, will point out the way, and the mode, and the manner by which these people are to be separated, and they are to be taken to their land of inheritance and promise, for such a one is before them. Hence we are making the experiment.

Hence let me again impress upon you the importance of controlling your passions, developing your intellect, and of applying your physical powers to the industrial interests of *the country;* and that is the true process by which this question can be settled. Be patient, persevering, and forbearing, and you will help to solve this problem. Make for yourselves a reputation in this cause as you have won for yourselves a reputation in the cause in which you have been engaged. In speaking to the members of this regiment, I want them to understand that, so far as I am concerned, I do not assume or pretend that I am stronger than the laws or course of nature, or that I am wiser than Providence itself. It is our duty to try and discover what these great laws are which are at the foundation of all things, and, having discovered what they are, conform our action and our conduct to them, and to the will of God who ruleth all things. He holds the destinies of nations in the palm of His hand, and He will solve the question and rescue these people from the difficulties that have so long surrounded them. Then let us be patient, industrious, and persevering. Let us develop our intellectual and moral worth.

I trust what I have said may be understood and appreciated. Go to your homes and lead peaceful, prosperous, and happy lives, in peace with all men. Give utterance to no word that would cause dissensions, but do that which will be creditable to yourselves and to your country. To the officers who have led and so nobly commanded you in the field, I also return my thanks for the compliment you and they have conferred upon me.

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ENCOURAGING SYMPTOMS.—The Petersburg (Va.) *Express* says:

"May we not in all reason assert that the aspect of our affairs is improving—that the 'skies are brightening' over our heads, and giving promise of an ere long cloudless sun? We have a President who stands like a wall of adamant between us and the Radicals, who would grind us to powder, if they could. How thankful ought we to be for our good fortune, and how earnestly should we strive to turn it to account by heeding the President's admonitions and following his counsels."

Judging from the terror with which the Radicals have inspired the late rebels, it is readily concluded, says the Cincinnati *Gazette*, that but for the exceedingly wholesome influence which the dreadful Radicals are exercising over them, they, with their Copperhead brethren of the North, would have everything their own way, and all the blood and treasure we have expended in saving the country would prove to have been utterly lost. This is encouraging to the Radicals to persevere in checking the madness of the opposition.

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WOMAN'S WAGES.—Gail Hamilton, in her book, "New Atmosphere," says:

"A female assistant in a high school, a woman of education, refinement, tact, and sense, receives six hundred dollars, and if she stays six hundred years she will receive no more. A male assistant fresh from a college or normal school, thoroughly unseasoned, without elegance of manners, or dignity of presence, or experience, teaching only temporarily, with a view to the pulpit, or the bar, or a professorship, receives a thousand dollars. His thousand is because he is a man. Her six hundred is because she is a woman. Her little finger may be worth more to the school than his whole body, but that goes for nothing. In a 'certain college' I wot of, the 'Professors' have a larger salary than the 'Preceptresses,' who perform double the amount of labor, and without any hope of promotion. Female assistants in grammar schools receive three or four hundred dollars where the male principal has ten or twelve hundred, and where the difference of salary bears no proportion to the difference of care or labor. No matter how assiduously they devote themselves to their duties, nor how successful they may be in their results, they have attained the maximum."

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CONDITION OF THE FREEDMEN.—The accounts of the condition of the freedmen at the South, received from intelligent and reliable sources, are of a character to indicate that much must be done for the negro by his friends at the North to prevent severe suffering the coming winter. The National Freedmen's Relief Association of New-York makes public the following:

"From Louisiana we hear: 'There are several thousands in my charge throughout the parish. It is really pitiful to see their necessity and hear their and cries for help. The women and children are usually worse off than the men. A large portion of those at the colony are crippled, infirm, most of them bruised and mangled by cruel taskmasters.' Mr. Kinne writes from Florida: 'Since the suspension of hostilities many are coming from the plantations because their former masters refuse to remunerate them for their services in raising the crop now ready for harvest, either by wages or a share of the crop. Many others are driven by violence and threats from their homes on the plantations, stripped of everything, compelled to wander without food for days, except what may be gathered in the woods, or begged of their colored friends by the way. The condition of those who come to us for care and protection defies description.'"

"From North Carolina ... have the same sad story: 'Old men and women, who have worked all their lives ... driven away without one mouthful of food and hardly clothing enough to cover their nakedness. Hardly a day passes but my sympathies are strongly appealed to by some case of entire destitution.'"

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MODERN JEFFERSONIANISM.—The Hartford *Times* occupies a column in trying to reason itself into the belief that when Jefferson wrote "all men are created equal," he meant to have written "all *white* men are created equal." That paper has a class of readers to whom such bosh is welcome, no doubt. Further it says that the men who signed the declaration opposed negro suffrage, that they "formed a white man's government," and it adds:

"In making this declaration they did not mean to be understood that the negroes were equal to white men, for the Government was not based on that idea—the Constitution adopted ages later date repudiated it."

Repudiated what? The idea of equality implied in the Declaration? Or did it "repudiate" an idea that never appeared anywhere before? We should like to see the clause in the Constitution where "equal rights," without regard to color, are "repudiated." Please point it out. As to opposition of the "signers" to negro suffrage, that is a groundless assumption, since negroes did vote for many years after the signing, in nearly all the States, North and South. How do you dispose of that fact, Mr. "Democratic" advocate of slavery and unequal suffrage?—*Connecticut Press.*

VOTERS

## DARA.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

When Persia's sceptre trembled in a hand
Wilted with harem-beats, and all the land
Was hovered o'er by those vulture ills
That snuff decaying empire from afar,
Then, with a nature balanced as a star,
Dara arose, a shepherd of the hills.

He who had governed fleecy subjects well,
Made his own village by the self-same spell
Secure and quiet as a guarded fold;
Then, gathering strength by slow and wise degrees,
Under his sway, to neighbor villages
Order returned, and faith, and justice old.

Now when it fortuned that a king more wise
Endued the realm with brain, and hands, and eyes,
He sought on every side men brave and just;
And having heard our mountain shepherd's praise,
How he refilled the mould of elder days,
To Dara gave a satrapy in trust.

So Dara shepherded a province wide,
Nor in his viceroy's sceptre took more pride
Than in his crook before; but envy finds
More food in cities than on mountains bare;
And the frank sun of spirits clear and rare
Breeds poisonous fogs in low and marish minds.

Soon it was whispered at the royal ear
That, though wise Dara's province, year by year,
Like a great sponge, sucked wealth and plenty up,
Yet when he squeezed it at the kings behest,
Some yellow drops more rich than all the rest
Went to the filling of his private cup.

For proof, they said that, wheresoe'er he went,
A chest, beneath whose weight the camel bent,
Went with him; and no mortal eye had seen
What was therein, save only Dara's own.
But, when 'twas opened, all his tent was known
To glow and lighten with heaped jewels' sheen.

The king set forth for Dara's province straight,
Where, as was fit, outside the city's gate,
The viceroy met him with a stately train,
And there, with archers circled, close at hand,
A camel with the chest was seen to stand.
The king's brow reddened, for the guilt was plain.

"Open me here," he cried, "this treasure chest."
'Twas done, and only a worn shepherd's vest
Was found within. Some blushed and hung the head:
Not Dara; open as the sky's blue roof
He stood, and "O! my lord, behold the proof
That I was faithful to my trust," he said.

"To govern men, lo, all the spell I had!
My soul in these rude vestments ever clad
Still to the unstained past kept true and leal,
Still on these plains could breathe her mountain air,
And fortune's heaviest gifts serenely bear,
Which bend men from their truth and make them reel.

For ruling wisely I should have small skill,
Were I not lord of simple Dara still;
That sceptre kept, I could not lose my way."
Strange dew in royal eyes grew round and bright,
And stained the throbbing lids; before 'twas night
Two added provinces blest Dara's sway.

## *ALBERT DÜRER.—A LESSON.*

From the New Path.

In the series of designs which Albert Dürer made to illustrate the life of the Virgin Mary there is one which represents, in a quaint fashion, the Repose in Egypt. The Virgin sits at one side plying her distaff with both hands, and rocking with her foot the rude cradle where the child, tightly swathed, and strapped into his nest, is sleeping soundly. Over his head two angels are leaning; the one with a youthful, joyful face scatters flowers over him, symbolical of the blessings that await him, whether they be mother's love, or friends, or the higher joy of doing and being good;—the other, a sad and dark-browed messenger, looks down with distress upon the little innocent, unconscious sleeper, and wrings his hand in agony as he sees, in vision, the evil that is to befall him. Meanwhile, the happy mother, dreaming of no ill, smiles with as sweet a mother's smile as ever painter drew; and, neither looking forward nor backward, enjoys with calm delight the present bliss; safe in a friendly land, her child beside her, her husband near, and feeling, perhaps, the presence of the angelic visitants, but without exultation as without fear.

In the centre of the foreground, old Joseph is busily engaged in hollowing out a large log, apparently for the purpose of making a water-trough; whether to earn some money from the Egyptians by the exercise of his proper craft, or to accommodate his own beast—that faithful ass on which, if we may believe the old painters, Mary rode comfortably from Jerusalem to Egypt with the babe in her arms, while her husband trudged by her side with all their worldly effects in a small bundle—we can only guess; we may smile in passing, if we will, at Dürer's notion of Egyptian Architecture, which looks, for all the world, like what we know of German house-building of the fifteenth century. But smile we must, whether we will or no, at this busy company of mischievous little angels, mere fledglings, who are swarming about the patient, plodding Joseph like so many earthly children. Some are raking up the chips with which his adze has plentifully strewed the ground; others are piling them into baskets; one has, in a humor of quiet mischief, donned the great beaver hat of the unconscious Joseph, and industriously works away, clad in the hat and in very little else, unless it be his wings, before the very eyes of that excellent person, who is apparently so intent on his task that he sees nothing at all—if, indeed, it be not wholly invisible—of what is going on about him. Evidently, other angels in the immediate vicinity have heard of the new comers, and are on their way; one has just entered, having run himself quite out of breath, and is greeted with a hearty shake of the hands by a boisterous little urchin who has just made himself a whirligig out of two of Joseph's most successful chips!

This subject of the Repose in Egypt was a favorite one with the old painters,* but this design of Dürer's is the most delightfully fresh and poetic we have ever seen. Dürer himself was a simple-hearted, hard-working man, the son of hard-working people, bred originally to a trade, and going on his apprentice journey like other young men who had served their time. He was not born, however, to be a mechanic; he had not the right make for it. He was industrious, worked hard and continuously, leaving an amount of work behind him that proves he could never have been idle; was able to do a great many things; could paint and draw, after a marvellous fashion, with all sorts of materials and implements; engraved on steel, wood, copper, iron; carved some of his designs in hone-stone as finely and delicately as if it were chalk; wrote books—a work on Fortification, in which is all that was known of that art in his time, and much that he contributed himself to the stock; another on the Proportions of the Human Figure, in which he makes many singularly acute observations; and though the book, like almost all he did, is whimsical in parts, yet it is still respected by scholars; and lastly a work on Perspective, in which, also, he has embodied all that was known of that science, which just then was interesting all the ingenious people of Europe, artists most of all, and making them fill their pictures with buildings, colonnades, niches, and whatever could give them a chance to show what they knew, and sometimes as it proved, what they did not know. Dürer took hold of this study with eagerness; he was never tired of it, and being of a most ingenious, inventive turn of mind, he made many discoveries, and devised several clever expedients for overcoming practical difficulties.

You would say, perhaps, that such an ingenious, industrious man would have made an excellent mechanic; and so he would, perhaps, if industry and ingenuity were all the requisites; but Dürer was restless; he did nothing systematically; his books have no plan; his designs are full of thought, full of incident, they are wonderfully interesting, but they are often crowded and confused; he had so active, teeming a brain that he could never have worked at any one trade all his life, doing the same thing over and over again. What calms and balances other men—the mass of men—and makes them love steady work, and so keeps the world moving orderly by settled laws—would have never done for him; to have been tied to a bench, would have killed him. It seems strange at first sight, inconsistent, almost, to say this, with one of his wonderful copper-plates before us. We look at, study it, go over it inch by inch, and the impression of the patience of the man, his skill, his untiring steadiness of hand, his matchless fineness of sight, and then again his patience, sinks deep into our minds, and we wonder at ourselves for writing of him as we have; but the inconsistency is only apparent; he did work steadily while he worked but, he worked at an immense variety of things, and he had to do so; he did not begin things and leave them, but he sat down with his German phlegm to a task that would make an American or a Frenchman quail, and went at it with a cheerful plodding enjoyment, worked at it with all his might, put his whole heart and his whole brain into it, made it as perfect as he could—and that means, perfect!—and then put it aside, and went, with equal courage patience, enjoyment, at something very different.

He never cared for money; made it and spent it, squandered it on the silliest trifles; the wonder is, that he left anything behind him. No wonder that his wife's love cooled toward him, that her temper soured, that they grew ever wider and wider apart. Dürer was a pious, God-fearing man; goodness ran in his blood; he lived a life of virtue, but this foible made his home unhappy, and perhaps it was more easily made so because his Agnes became his wife by that infernal old European system of barter and sale; and not sweet love brought them together in their spring-time, but two old men chaffering over their money-bags.*

Dürer was, indeed, no mechanic, although born of a father who was one, surrounded by a family of brothers who were mechanics, and, for the most part, associating entirely with people of that class, which was, indeed, at that time, in Germany, a class in which a man as able as Dürer could find good company in plenty. He was, however, all his life a deep and sincere sympathizer with the class to which he belonged by birth and breeding. He had, apparently, no ambition to get out of it; took easily to the society of rich and titled people, if need be, but as easily came back again to his old house, and his wife, his maid Susanna, and the plain people of his town. Over and over again he shows his sympathy with toil, and suffering, and poverty, and honest sweat, and throws himself with his whole heart into scenes that bring them before us. His series of wood-cuts—"The Life of The Virgin," "The Passion of our Lord"—are simple-hearted, sincere, and, sometimes rude, but strong, glowing, passionate hymns, in which suffering and poverty and patience are made holy and beautiful. These designs of Dürer rightly stand apart from all others that ever were made, by their earnestness alone; for there is in them something far higher than their art; they have touched the heart of the world, because here, for once, it finds an artist striving to infuse into his designs, or, rather, not striving, but simply expressing with a fervor, before which everything dilettante and conventional shrivels up and is burnt away—the deep Christian sympathy with humanity that was the basis of his being.

* Some day, if we live, we will strike a chivalrous blow for Agnes Frey, who, certainly, can be righteously defended against that old pedant Pirkheimer's evil tongue; and we dare say that Dürer himself, if there be any truth in Spiritualism, will help us, now that he knows himself and her better, to some good arguments.

* There is a very pretty conception of this subject by Lucas Cranach, a contemporary of Durer (Durer died twenty-five years before him), in which the holy family is quite eclipsed by the swarm of little cherubs who are engaged in the most active way in making themselves useful. Their principal occupation seems to be, cutting down branches of trees for firewood, Cranach probably thinking it as cold in Egypt as it is in Germany. One little urchin has become so immoderately thirsty by reason of overheating himself in his endeavors to hew down willow twigs, that he is plunging head-foremost into a brook, after the fashion of a duck. But this of Cranach's is mere play of fancy. There is nothing deeper in it.

## *AUTUMN SPLENDORS.*

EXTRACTS FROM THOREAU'S "EXCURSIONS."

"As I go across a meadow directly toward a low rising ground this bright afternoon, I see, some fifty rods off toward the sun, the top of a maple swamp just appearing over the sheeny russet edge of the hill, a stripe apparently twenty rods long, by ten feet deep, of the most intensely brilliant scarlet, orange, and yellow, equal to any flowers or fruits, or any tints ever painted. * * * * One wonders that the tithing men and fathers of the town are not out to see what the trees mean by their high colors and exuberance of spirits, fearing that some mischief is brewing. I do not see what the Puritans did at this season, when the maples blaze out in scarlet. They certainly could not have worshipped in groves then. Perhaps that is what they built meeting-houses and fenced them round with horse-sheds for."

"Surely trees should be set in our streets, with a view to their October splendor; though I doubt whether this is ever considered by the 'Tree Society.' Do you not think it will make some odds to these children that they were brought up under the maples? Hundreds of eyes are steadily drinking in this color, and by these teachers even the truants are caught and educated the moment they step abroad. Indeed, neither the truant nor the studious are at present taught color in the schools. These are instead of the bright colors in apothecaries' shops and city windows. * * * * Our paint-box is very imperfectly filled. Instead of, or beside, supplying such paint-boxes as we do, we might supply these natural colors to the young. Where else will they study color under greater advantages? What School of Design can vie with this? Think how much the eyes of painters of all kinds, and of manufacturers of cloth and paper, and paper-stainers, and countless others, are to be educated by these autumnal colors. The stationers' envelopes may be of very various tints, yet not so various as that of the leaves of a single tree. If you want a different shade or tint of a particular color, you have only to look farther within or without the tree or the wood. These leaves are not many dipped in one dye, as at the dye-house, but they are dyed in light of infinitely various degrees of strength, and left to set and dry there."

"I am again struck with their beauty, when, a month later, they thickly strew the ground in the woods, piled one upon another under my feet. They are then brown above, but purple beneath. With their narrow lobes and their bold deep scollops reaching almost to the middle, they suggest that the materials must be cheap, or else there has been a lavish expense in their creation, as if so much had been cut out. Or else they seem to us the remnants of the stuff out of which leaves have been cut with a die. Indeed, when they lie thus one upon another, they remind me of a pile of scrap-tin.

Or bring one home, and study it closely at your leisure, by the fireside. It is a type, not from any Oxford font, not in the Basque nor the arrow-headed character, not found on the Rosetta stone, but destined to be copied in sculpture one day, if they ever get to whittling stone here. What a wild and pleasing outline, a combination of graceful curves and angles! The eye rests with equal delight on what is not leaf and on what is leaf,—on the broad, free, open sinuses, and on the long, sharp, bristle-pointed lobes. A simple oval outline would include it all, if you connected the points of the leaf; but how much richer is it than that, with its half-dozen deep scollops, in which the eye and thought of the beholder are embayed! If I were a drawing-master, I would set my pupils to copying these leaves, that they might learn to draw firmly and gracefully."

The Composer Weber.—Weber could be pleased with honest praise. Once at Wisbaden, at the table d'hôte, he sat next to a Dr. Horn, a man of talent and accounted a great musical critic:

The conversation turned on literature and art. The music in the gallery brought up the subject of "Der Freischütz." Surprised at the knowledge respecting music displayed by his unknown companion, Dr. Horn ventured to ask his name. "I am not ashamed of it," replied the composer with a quiet smile: "it is Weber." "Oh, Gottfried Weber?" "No." "The Weber of Berlin?" "He is long since dead." "You don't mean to say," stammered the eager man, with quivering breath, "not—not—" he could not speak out. "Carl Maria von Weber—yes," was the reply. The astonished man was speechless for a while: then with tears springing into his eyes, he said in a soft whisper, "What a happiness has Heaven permitted me!" Weber was never indifferent to incense from the altar of fame, although he set no special store by it. "But now," he himself wrote, "I could not but feel grateful to Providence for having given me the power to affect so deeply the heart of such a man: it was a rich reward."

A few days later he was at Ems:

The little lame modest-looking man was received with a sort of sulky indifference at the well-known hotel of the Four Towers, and shown into a poor apartment. Presently, whilst occupied in shaving before the glass, after unpacking his luggage, he was struck by an uproar in the hotel. In another moment, landlady, and waiters of every rank and description in the hierarchy of waiterdom, rushed into his room. In a state of suffocating agitation the mistress gasped forth the words, "Had I but known! Freischütz! Preciosa! I'll turn every soul into the streets!" and rushed out again, followed by her whole bewildered troop. Next came, one after the other, a succession of inmates, offering to give up their rooms: one gentleman brought his luggage with him, already packed; and willy-nilly, the great composer, more worried than pleased, was obliged to transfer his domicile to the state apartments of the hotel. At dinner in the cursaal, for a time he was left quiet, hearing the buzzing conversation relative to the possible, probable, and even actual arrival of the great composer, listening to anecdotes of himself, his personal appearance, and his adventures. Presently, the rumor spread around that he was sitting at the table. A shout of jubilee was raised—his health was drunk with loud huzzas—the band struck an air in "Der Freichütz;" and the poor worried man could only rise and slip away as best he could. Then came serenades from the bath music, from the military bands, from every one who had an instrument to play, or a voice to sing—and ever "Der Freischütz," ever "Preciosa." No wonder Weber wrote, "I could almost curse the hour I ever composed a note. There is no escape from my own confounded self!"—*Weber's Life.*

## *TOWN AND COUNTRY.*

From the Saturday Review.

It has been recently suggested in a fashionable newspaper that all the London people who have only moderate independent incomes should immediately go away, and live in the towns and villages of the country. They would be so much better off there, if they only knew it. In London or its suburbs they have to pay enormous house-rent, they are not even acquainted with their next-door neighbors, and they are positive nobodies. If they would only go to those hundred "charming country houses and villages" which, as it is, are steadily on the decrease in population and prosperity, they would mix with other families, would have no difficulty in marrying off their daughters, would enjoy better health, would save money, and in ever so many other ways would find themselves happier and better off. They would also have the satisfaction of knowing that they were doing more good in the world. The charming country towns would be equally improved by this infusion of "maiden ladies and widows with small incomes, officers on half-pay, and retired tradesmen of moderate fortune." To a dispassionate observer, we may confess, the ordinary country town seems even now to have more than enough of these desirable residents. With the addition of a lawyer, the half-dozen clergymen, and doctors, and a bank-manager or two, the whole fashionable population appears to be made up of maiden ladies and widows with small incomes, and retired tradesmen of moderate fortune. Still the proposal of so tremendous a measure of emigration ought not to be passed over without notice. Very few people, except those who are too busy to give their minds to it, are quite contented with the place in which they are living. If in the town, men and women complain of expense, and dirt, and noise. When they get into the country, they suffer ten times more from a deadly and dismal dulness which must be felt to be understood. Nothing can be sillier than the attempts sometimes made to settle in a decisive way the relative advantages of life in London and in the provinces—life in towns and life among the fields and lanes. Still, before the genteel emigrants from Bloomsbury and Highbury accept the advice with which they have been favored, and hasten away into the country towns, it would be well for them to strike some sort of balance between what they give up and what they hope to get in return.

There are two great and obvious advantages about living in London, to old maids and retired gentlemen who have no work or business. In the first place, they may do whatever they like, short of getting into the police-courts and the papers, without any apprehension of being talked about. Certainly, if a widow with a small income habitually drove up to her own door at one or two in the morning in a noisy Hansom, she would probably be conscious that she was the subject of much tattle in the street. But, as a rule, people who live in London are very happy to mind their own business, and to leave their neighbors alone. In these charming country towns, on the other hand, anybody would be thought grossly wanting in his or her duty to society who failed to take the keenest interest in the affairs of everybody else in the place. Income, family, past history, personal habits, are all registered in a great unwritten record with the minute precision of a census paper. You cannot expect to have all this delightful information about your neighbors without conferring the same gratification upon them in turn with respect to yourself. They must have their *quid pro quo*. If you are permitted to ascertain with accuracy what they had for dinner, you cannot in decency grudge them the knowledge of what you had for supper. One of the great advantages of the proposed emigration would be the stimulus which it would give to these sociological inquiries. If some enterprising person were to lead a colony of fifty old widows, or fifty retired tradesmen with their families, to settle in one of these delightful stagnant towns, the effect upon the intellect of the place could only be compared to that of a movement like the Renaissance, or the revival of letters. The mind of the oldest inhabitant would be stirred to its lowest depths, and a development of the acquisitive and inventive faculties would take place such as it had never entered into the heart of man to conceive. This would be delicious to the country town, but a man bred in cities would probably not relish the notion of having himself and his affairs made the occasion of a great Renaissance. Still less would he relish the vigilant tyranny which minute tattle is sure to breed. In a charming country town a single step out of the beaten path of rustic etiquette is certain to lead to a more or less prompt excommunication. The tyranny of opinion in a city is often bad enough, but in villages and decaying towns it is worse to an incredible degree. Suppose the new settler objects to the length of the morning service, and so does not go to church as often as his neighbors; or let him be known to have a copy of a heterodox book in his house, or to express the accursed Laodicean doctrine that a man should be allowed without interference to believe what seems best to him. He will very speedily find himself quite as lonely as if he had stopped in his mother-country in Bloomsbury, with the exception that some old lady will most likely feel it a solemn duty to deal faithfully with him from time to time, and warn him honestly of the evil place for which he is preparing himself. Even if he should offend rustic laws no more deeply than by liveliness of manner and by a sprightly way of talking, his punishment will be fully as great as he can bear. Liveliness is a distinct breach of good manners in a country town. It is vulgar and ostentatious. It is a sign of shallowness and flippancy of character. It proves clearly that a man is superficial and conceited; and has never mixed in really good society. It is a wicked outrage put upon the great god of dulness. A brilliant man accidentally stranded, even for a week, in the society of a charming country town, hurts the delicate sensitiveness of the residents as keenly as if he were to carry off their family plate. His jests and good things are received with deprecatory mildness by the more amiable part of his listeners, but by the rest with indignation and hatred. The men look at him half stolidly, half sullenly, and the ladies with an air of feeble discomfort. It may be said that widows with small incomes, and retired tradesmen with moderate fortunes, usually want neither to avoid going to church nor to be brilliant, which is quite true. But the dullest people who have lived in busy places all their lives, acquire a strongish desire to be allowed to do as they please, as well as occasionally to be amused, and to have the monotony of their lives relieved.

This utter lack of means of amusement or moderate excitement is the second point in which decayed country towns, charming though they be, are inferior to a metropolis for people who are out of active business. In London one may not know one's next-door neighbor, which is an appalling idea to the rural mind, and gives it the most effectual notion of the vastness of this overgrown city. And London people are not too sociable, nor too ready to receive as an intimate acquaintance anybody whom they know nothing about. But in London a man may have scarcely any friends, and still find his life interesting enough. There is the newspaper every morning, and there are the theatres, and there are the parks and the streets. In a country place most men's interest even in the news grows stagnant, and the local journal once a week, or a look now and then at the *Times*, is found quite sufficient to satisfy their curiosity as to the outside world. The atmosphere is wholly unfavorable to a habit of taking interest in things. Of course there is no theatre, or, if there be one, there is no company; and, if there were both, there is a vague persuasion still lingering in these waste places of the earth that theatres are wrong. As to the want of acquaintances in a big city, a man must have a very curiously constituted mind who would not think it a far more convivial sort of thing to walk about some of the great London streets, with their shops and crowds of people, and horses and carriages, than to go through the dismal ceremonies which mark the hospitalities of small towns in the country. For young ladies, indeed, such places abound with inexhaustible sources of joy. The charming country town has generally plenty of churches, and this implies a good stock of curates constantly on hand. The most acrimonious member of the Liberation Society might admit that the Church has its uses if he could but see the blessings which half a dozen pleasant and sociable curates bring to the young ladies of a decayed town. They organize the most delightful choral societies, which, meeting once or twice a week, combine the excitement of the opera with the flirtation of an evening party, and yet add to both the delights of piety, because chants and bits out of oratories alternate with glees and madrigals. Then the young ladies and the curates take sweet counsel together over the coals, and the blankets, and the sick people who want good talk and port wine. The book-club is another admirable field of diversion. The struggle which goes on between the fast or mildly free-thinking members and the clergy, on the knotty point whether any book in the faintest degree interesting should be sent for, is almost as capital an opportunity for flirting as the bits of oratorio and the glees. The discussion of books, too, gives room for an interchange of what both parties to it take for ideas; and when young ladies and curates begin to interchange ideas, it is time for any mother with sound views about curates to interfere peremptorily. Life in a country town that is well supplied with cutrates is no sinecure to the meritorious mother. It is true, as the *Morning Post* says, that she "marries off her daughters without difficulty;" but she could do that in London if she were not too particular about her son-in-law's income and prospects.

A great many people who have no tie to London, or any other large and busy town, go and bury themselves in remote solitudes, with the idea that they are taking the best means to lead a simple and contemplative life. And most of us, when on a Spring or Autumn walk through fine country, have felt a passing desire to do the same. All looks so fresh and tranquil. Yet there are very few cases in which this plan of life does not prove a failure. Not every man has such depth of resource within himself that he can endure isolation from Society without growing deeply morose and dull. If he is a great philosopher or a thoroughly stupid person, he may try the experiment with success. But if he is only of ordinary temper, the monotony of a rural life to which he has not always been accustomed has the worst effect. He furnishes his library with good books, and orders his papers and reviews to be sent regularly, and has a garden and a cow or two and a pig or two, and he means to ask a friend to stay with him twice or thrice a year. The whole thing is delightful for a month. He reads and takes his exercise, and gazes meditatively at the cows at their grazing and the pigs grubbing in their troughs, and he feels that he is communing with nature, and is leading the life of one of her truest sons. But by and by communing with nature becomes a bore. The cows and pigs are all very well, but they have no views, and they cannot interchange ideas. The newspaper, which at first was rather snubbed, gets more and more precious, and the advertisements of the play and the operas and the railway trips seem the most valuable part of it. Finally, the foolish man who had thought he had much goods laid up for himself gives up the remote solitude; or else, if he is perverse as well as foolish, he clings to it, and brings his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave by sheer monotony and crushing dulness of life. It is scarcely less of a mistake for anybody who has to live most of the year in one spot to pitch his tent in a surpassingly beautiful country. The country seats of great people may be wisely placed in the richest scenery that can be found, because great people are constantly moving about from place to place.

## *AUTOGRAPHS.**

From the Spectator.

The love of collecting autographs, if it has sometimes been pursued without much taste or meaning, has never sunk to the rank of a mere mania, like the tulip mania of the seventeenth and the postage stamp mania of the nineteenth century. There is always a pleasure in contemplating the handwriting of persons whom you respect or admire, and the mind is led on insensibly to associate certain characteristics with handwriting from reading those same characteristics in lives or faces. We do not speak of the art of cheiromancy, which, though practiced with apparent success by individuals, seems to us rather random and uncertain. Like phrenology, it presents some good facts and some basis to go up, but it is too much *exploité* by people who are ignorant of its first rules, and only care to make it agreeable to their customers. But leaving this out of the question, and treating a man's handwriting as something belonging to him, and therefore some index to his character, it is impossible not to be struck by its peculiarities. The most careless reader, in turning over the lithographed leaves of his handsome volume, would see the difference between a hand like Thackeray's and one like the late Duke of Cleveland's. A comparison between the neat hand of Rogers and the scraggy sprawling hand of Byron, has much the same effect as reading *Lara* and *Jacqueline* together must have had when they were first published in one volume. That "joint concern *summut* like Sternhold and Hopkins," as it was described by a passenger in the Brighton coach, would no doubt have looked still more unnatural in autograph. Rogers' hand is as calm, labored, and regular as his poetry, Byron's as uneven, dashing, and unlovely as his life.

In many cases, however, this sort of parallel does not hold good. There are many kinds of handwriting which do not accord with what we know of their authors. We must allow for so many influences, in some men for so many moods. One man is the slave of his pen, ink, and paper, writing a beautiful hand with his own, an abominable hand with any one else's. There is a handwriting which looks actually artistic, while it is really nothing but the product of ample leisure and the best materials. And this may be described as a very gentlemanly hand, just as when a man has no character or intellect of his own, not enough to make him either a decided man or a decided gentleman, he is allowed to pass for a very gentlemanlike man. Again, some scholars and gentlemen are always hurried, and cannot afford time to write legibly. We see hands going through a gradual change under increased pressure, and the beautiful copperplate of youth becoming the reckless scribble of manhood. Charles Knight describes the undignified rush of Lord Chancellor Brougham from his robing room to the woolsack, with grave officials puffing scandalized after him. The characteristics of Brougham's handwriting, as we see it here, are just the same; it is a hasty, dashing scrawl; the words have been thrown at the paper, instead of being written upon it, and have stuck there as they best could without assistance. Compare with this the ladylike hand of Croker, the *Quarterly* with the *Edinburgh*. And yet Croker was hardly ladylike, except in the qualities of spite and pettishness, which are always assigned to woman by her enemies. In cases like these the official hand explains much, as does the business hand in the case of Rogers. Often there is a family hand, and sons write like their fathers, however unlike they may be in character. It is difficult to avoid constructing a theory of character and handwriting from a comparison of the letters of Chatham and William Pitt; we seem to read at once their likeness and their difference. But when we enlarge the field of comparison, and take in several nationalities, as we must in examining this volume, we find another qualifying influence. There is a distinct nationality in handwriting, as distinct as in speech and manners. Of course the Germans, who use a character of their own, write differently from all other European nations, but the French, the Italians, the Spaniards, the English, have their peculiar ways of forming the same character. We do not pretend to any knowledge of the East, but a volume of prayers in twenty-four languages, which we bought at the American Convent at Venice, seemed to convey an instructive comment on the ways of the various Eastern nations. There is the Chinese writing, every word or every letter like a picture, or rather a puzzle, single squares painfully elaborated. The Chaldæan is black and bold, and seems the type of manly vigor, upright and courageous, representing to our (perhaps prejudiced) minds the perfection of English handwriting. The Hebrew is a more limited character,—more precision, less show of sternness and energy, still order and dignity. The Siriac is small and twisted, and to us represents French handwriting of the lower order. The Arabian, the Turkish, the Persian are very similar in their characteristics, except that each seems more flowing, more graceful, more effeminate than the other. Perhaps the Persian is best entitled to this character. There is something more rugged in the Arabian, something blacker in the Turkish; the Persian flows like a woman's letter, like the poetry of Moore.

When we come to examine more deeply into national handwriting, we find of course that it is much qualified by individual character. Take the French autographs we have in this volume. The best of the purely French is perhaps that of Murat, a fine manly hand, without ostentation. Persigny's hand is also of the pure type, neat and tripping. Napoleon III.'s is a lower sample of the same type, has a mean look, and is entirely devoid of elevation. Thiers is quite illegible, though some kind slave who has devoted himself to the work of unravelling the web of black strokes, says that it contains the following allusion to Guizot's reception of Lacordaire at the Academy: "A monk received by a Protestant is a spectacle which is turning the brain of Paris." Louis Blanc writes a splendid hand, extremely clear and orderly, with just a tinge of French formation to stamp its nationality. Of passed generations, Madame Recamier's letter to Maria Edgeworth bears witness to a hand of anything but "incomparable beauty." There is nothing remarkable in Voltaire's handwriting. Rousseau's is small and perfectly legible, as if it was engraved on a copper plate. Corneille's hand is good, and bears a certain resemblance to Milton's, if we allow for the difference of nation. But just as there is a national hand, so there is a contemporary hand. People of the same, or nearly the same, period write more alike than people of the same character. The resemblance between the hands of Milton and Charles I. is the most striking instance that we can adduce, but the Duchess of Marlborough is not altogether unlike Milton. There is a certain affinity between Shelley and Byron, yet what two men could be less alike? A good proof of the way handwritings run in generations is furnished in this volume by the juxtaposition of Lady Jane Grey and the late Duchess of Gloucester. Look at the close blackness of the first, the compression of every kind, the lines so near together, and the words scarcely separate, and yet such labor expended on every letter; and then turn to the lady's hand of the last generation, differing at once from the ladies of Mary and those of Victoria—a hand that runs yet cannot be read, so fluent and so illegible. If we glance distantly at the late Duke of Cleveland's letter, we take it for the production of a Cavalier during the interregnum. But by degrees we miss the old incision and deliberateness, we see how the lines crowd each other, and we know that "schoolboy hand" of Thackeray, a hand which is to be seen grown up on so many sheets of club paper. One of the best hands we have in this volume is Southey's, and this curious enough preserves the old characteristics. It is not modern English writing, but a modernization of old English writing. Several of these contemporaries are placed near each other, but there is little to be gained by comparing them. Moore, who comes next to Rogers, is not much inferior in neatness, but seems to write with the point of a fine pen, and sometimes he falls into the fault of thinness. Scott's handwriting has a cramped look, which seems unnatural from the pen of such a ready writer. Another sort of comparison may be made between Mrs. Hemans and Miss Mitford; no one would take the first for a woman of talent, the second for a woman at all. Equally strange is the contrast between Bright and Cobden. Mr. Bright writes a small, neat, and orderly hand. Cobden's hand is that of the Northern man of business, on which is based the genuine American hand, as we see it here in Stonewall Jackson. Neither Washington nor Franklin possess it.

We frankly confess that to us the German hand is an abomination. There is a long letter in it here from Heine to Dr. Simrock, and an epigram on Schleswig-Holstein in 1847 and 1865 by Arnold Rüge, which ought to call a blush to the face of Dr. Simrock. But viewing these writings from the orthographic, and not the autographic, point of view, we find little to remark in them. Niebuhr's hand is perhaps the best of German hands. Rückert seems to write with a pin and a German pin into the bargain. Best of all is Wilhelm Grimm, who has the grace to write in Roman characters, and whose elegant precision, void as it is of all affectation of caligraphy, is not to be surpassed. The finest Italian hand is that of Ariosto, which may be compared to the Chaldæan. It is difficult to say under what nationality we are to class the writing of Napoleon. France has certainly no claim to it. But there is a very curious letter of his from Egypt to his brother Jerome, the more curious that it fell into the hands of Nelson, and is endorsed by him, "Found on the person of the courier." Nelson's endorsement is in his left-hand writing; Napoleon's letter is scratchy and impetuous, with uneven lines and black patches, and most careless in spelling. "Tu *vaira* dans les papiers publics," he begins, and adds in a later place, "je suis *annuié* de la nature humaine." He commissions Joseph to buy him "une campagne, soit prés de Paris, ou en Bourgogne; je compte y passer l'hiver et m'y enterrer. J'ai besoin de solitude et d'isolement; la grandeur m'*annuie;* le sentiment est desseché; la gloire est fade, à 29 ans j'ai tout *epuissé*, il ne me reste plus qu'à devenir bien vraiment Egoiste." But he soon found that this laudable object could be accomplished in a better way than by becoming a hermit.

As a rule there are not very many characteristic passages or bits to quote in this volume. Some of the longer letters, take them for all in all, confirm our old impressions of their writers, without giving us any sudden insight into their characters. Among curiosities, independent of handwriting, we may place the reproduction of a manuscript page *Armadale*, which must, we think, have given trouble to the printers. Erasures are numerous, and are effected with a jealous completeness, as if Mr. Wilkie Collins was loth to let others see what his first thoughts had been. Another curiosity is Douglas Jerrold's receipt for £10 for the perpetual copyright of the *Rent Day*. The handwriting of this differs materially from the later specimens of the same author, which have what we may call a "twang" in them. Another is the original MS. of Thackeray's *Little Billy*, showing many departures from the text at present received. As we hear it sung now, and as we believe Thackeray sang it himself at the horseshoe dinner given him when he left for America in 1855, the ship is not loaded, but "wittled." "Little Billy" has got to the end of the twelfth commandment when he catches sight of land, and the commander of the British fleet is "Admiral Lord Nelson; K. C. B.," whom we have seen quoted in that guise in the leading articles of the *Daily Telegraph*. The future literary historian will have to compare this first version with the later one, and trace the successive additions inspired by various convivialities. We hope that he will not find the same difficulties as the German in search of the one English irregular verb. The story is that an American was teaching English to a German, and on being asked if there were no irregular verbs in English, replied by giving one solitary example. It was, "I go, thou wentest, he departed, we made tracks, you cut sticks, they skedaddled." But on asking for a repetition of it the German found that it varied every time, and he had at last to give it up in despair as a grammatical Proteus.

* *The Autographic Mirror*, Vol. II. London, 1865.

The Art of Saying What is Meant.—The importance of Style is generally unsuspected by philosophers and men of science, who are quite aware of its advantage in all departments of *belles lettres;* and if you allude in their presence to the deplorably defective presentation of the ideas in some work distinguished for its learning, its profundity, or its novelty, it is probable that you will be despised as a frivolous setter up of manner before matter, a light-minded *dilettante*, unfitted for the simple austerities of science. But this is itself a light-minded contempt; a deeper insight would change the tone, and help to remove the disgraceful slovenliness and feebleness of composition which deface the majority of grave works, except those written by Frenchmen, who have been taught that composition is an art, and that no writer may neglect it. In England and Germany men who will spare no labor in research grudge all labor in style; a morning is cheerfully devoted to verifying a quotation, by one who will not spare ten minutes to reconstruct a clumsy sentence; a reference is sought with ardor, an appropriate expression in lieu of the inexact phrase which first suggests itself does not seem worth seeking. What are we to say to a man who spends a quarter's income on a diamond pin which he sticks in a greasy cravat? a man who calls public attention to him, and appears in a slovenly undress? Am I to bestow applause on some insignificant parade of erudition, and withhold blame from the stupidities of style which surround it? Had there been a clear understanding of Style as the living body of thought, and not its "dress," which might be more or less ornamental, the error I am noticing would not have spread so widely. But, naturally, when men regarded the grace of style as mere grace of manner, and not as the delicate precision giving form and relief to matter—as mere ornament, stuck on to arrest incurious eyes, and not as effective expression—their sense of the deeper value of matter made them despise such airs. A clearer conception would have rectified this error. The matter is confluent with the manner; and only *through* the style can thought reach the reader's mind. If the manner is involved, awkward, abrupt, obscure, the reader will either be oppressed with a confused sense of cumbrous material which awaits an artist to give it shape, or he will have the labor thrown upon him of extracting the material and reshaping it in his own mind. How entirely men misconceive the relation of style to thought may be seen in the replies they make when their writing is objected to, or in the ludicrous attempts of clumsy playfulness and tawdry eloquence when they wish to be regarded as writers.

"Le style le moins noble a pourtant sa noblesse,"

and the principles of Sincerity, not less than the suggestions of taste, will preserve the integrity of each style. A philosopher, an investigator, an historian, or a moralist, so far from being required to present the graces of a wit, an essayist, a pamphleteer, would be warned off such ground by the necessity of expressing himself sincerely. Pascal, Biot, Buffon, or Laplace are examples of the clearness and beauty with which ideas may be presented wearing all the graces of fine literature, and losing none of the severity of science. Bacon, also, having an opulent and active intellect, spontaneously expressed himself in forms of various excellence. But what a pitiable contrast is presented by Kant! It is true that Kant, having a much narrower range of sensibility, could have no such ample resource of expression, and he was wise in not attempting to rival the splendor of the *Novum Organum;* but he was not simply unwise, he was extremely culpable in sending forth his thoughts as so much raw material which the public was invited to put into shape as it could. Had he been aware that much of his bad writing was imperfect thinking, and always imperfect adaptation of means to ends, he might have been induced to recast it into more logical and more intelligible sentences, which would have stimulated the reader's mind as much as they now oppress it. Nor had Kant the excuse of a subject too abstruse for clear presentation. The examples of Descartes, Spinoza, Hobbes, and Hume are enough to show how such subjects can be mastered, and the very implication of writing a book is that the writer has mastered his material, and can give it intelligible form.—*Fortnightly Review.*

## *NAPOLEON AND SISMONDI.*

From the Spectator.

Napoleon requested to see Sismondi, and so it came to pass that the historian and philosopher of Geneva and the Emperor walked up and down together the shaded alleys of the garden of the Elysée Bourbon for well nigh an hour. The interview was very characteristic, and every particular was noted down by Sismondi for his mother as soon as it was ended.

Bonaparte, as usual, began by compliments. He had read *all* the historian's works—he had read them again and again, always with the greatest interest. Sismondi simply replied by a reference to his last paper in the *Moniteur* on the "Constitution of France," insisting on his own convictions, and expressing his concern that they were not more general, but that, on the contrary, the imperial rule was violently repudiated.

"'It will all pass over,' said Bonaparte, and then he used expressions which led Sismondi to feel that he by no means saw the necessity of a complete change of measures. Seeing clearly that he was in no position to rule in defiance of opinion, the historian strove to show him the only possible course.—'What grieves me,' said he, 'is that they (the people) c